APR - 7 1986
AUG 01 87

The Nation.

March 29, 1986 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

A MAGAZINE, A MOVEMENT

The cavernous Seventh Regiment Armory was crowded, the music was roisterous, the speeches were stirring and for the first time in the history of New York parties there were more jumbo shrimp than guests. Three thousand friends of *The Nation*, some from overseas, gathered for the magazine's 120th anniversary celebration last week. The scene was set by a powerful sense of the past; the magazine, after all, has roots in most of the great political and cultural events of its lifetime. But the night was filled with a remarkable feeling for the future as well. The speakers—Jesse Jackson, Bella Abzug, Nora Astorga, Molly Ivins, George McGovern, Ira Glasser, Studs Terkel—looked ahead to the world that *The Nation* will face this week, next year, into the next century.

It wasn't until the party was well under way that we began to understand its meaning as a gathering of people with like minds and compatible moods who find in this magazine a focus for their interests and activities. We are not the world; we are not even the Northeast corridor or a significant slab of Manhattan. But we hope to be a center now for an increasingly self-conscious community of action, independence and dissent. It hardly has a name: old qualifiers like "liberal," "leftist," "progressive" and "committed" seem incomplete, dated and mechanical. What can be said and seen, however, is that the community is more than a list of subscribers to worthy causes. In a way, it engages the causes and defines their worth.

An elderly couple with no special involvement in the magazine's operations flew in from the Midwest to get a feeling of the strength of the gathering. A carload of students from Long Island came, as one of them said, "because this is what is happening." We hope the couple and the kids met, and that they'll stay in touch.

REAGAN FLIPS
Alexander Cockburn

CONTRA POLYGRAPHS
Martha Honey

THE SOUTHERN PRIMARY
Curtis B. Gans

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY
Bill Goold
John Cavanagh

VARGAS LLOSA
Terrence Rafferty

KILLER B's
Andrew Kopkind

RAMONA AFRICA'S DEFENSE

MOVE v. THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

JIM QUINN

Pennsylvania, like most states, has a death penalty; from time to time people are sentenced to die. But in Pennsylvania, as in most states, no one has been executed for decades. In civilized America there is really only one capital crime: exasperating a cop.

The Philadelphia police confirmed that rule last May when, as all the world knows, they bombed a row house in a quiet black neighborhood. Sixty-one houses—three city blocks—were destroyed in the fire. At least eleven people were killed. Bodies were so badly burned that they disintegrated; an exact count is impossible. Six of the identifiable victims were adult members of a local primitivist group called MOVE. Five were children. Police say they had no choice. MOVE was bothering the neighbors with long, loud harangues through a bullhorn. And MOVE members refused to surrender when police surrounded the block and Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor, using a bullhorn of his own, shouted: "Attention MOVE. This is America. You have to obey the laws of the United States."

Police Commissioner Sambor is ex-police commissioner now, forced to resign, he says, by Mayor Wilson Goode, who may be ex-mayor come next election, as a result of a report on the MOVE bombing that found him "grossly negligent" and his own belated admission of culpability. And Ramona Africa, who survived the MOVE fire by running into an alley and shouting, "I give up! Don't shoot!" was found guilty on February 9 of criminal conspiracy and riot. That's kind of a victory for Ramona, who conducted her own defense. She was acquitted

(*Continued on Page 458*)

FSU LIBRARY
APR 07 1986
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

'DISTORTIONS'

Washington

For the record, I must protest Tim Shorrock and Kathy Selvaggio's article on the Asian-American Free Labor Institute's role in the Philippines, South Korea and elsewhere ["Which Side Are You On, AAFLI?" Feb. 15]. Its untruths, distortions and misquotations are so many that they cannot be rebutted in a letter of the length that is likely to be printed.

In our contacts with the authors we tried to be open and forthcoming, but it is obvious that they had their minds made up before writing their story. The sneering references to our anticommunist position make clear which side they are on. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. and AAFLI, now as in the past, oppose dictatorships of all ideological stripes and persuasions. *Charles D. Gray*
Executive Director, AAFLI

'DISTORTIONS' CONT.

East Lansing, Mich.

The article "Which Side Are You On, AAFLI?" was so fraught with half-truths, distortions and outright misrepresentations that it would be impossible to set the record straight in a letter of limited length. However, since in his section of the article Tim Shorrock saw fit to misquote me a full three years after our one brief meeting, I feel compelled to respond to his more outrageously false assertions.

It is ludicrous for Shorrock to imply that AAFLI avoided contact with the Chongkye Garment Workers Union "because of its close ties with the democratic opposition." As a former staff member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and former AAFLI representative in South Korea, I had a warm working relationship with the South Korean garment workers union. I often spoke at its conventions and directly with the rank and file. Despite not-so-subtle warnings from "Korean government authorities" that AAFLI's relationship with the Chongkye union would endanger the institute's status in South Korea, we continued to meet and work with them until the Seoul city government disbanded the union through government orders.

Contrary to Shorrock's calumnious misquotations, I have never attributed or rationalized the government's violent and illiberal actions toward those workers as a reflection of "different ethnic standards." In fact, during the trials of those who briefly held me hostage, I testified in their defense and publicly attributed their desperate actions to the provocation of having the union dissolved by government edict [see correction in the March 1 issue].

The Chongkye workers union made quite clear in all of its public and private pronouncements that its demonstration was not aimed at AAFLI but was designed to draw international attention to the union's plight. At the completion of their jail sentences, the leaders of the demonstration came to my office to express their appreciation both for my testimony and for AAFLI's past and continuing support for their struggle to achieve trade union rights.

Shorrock also charged that the leadership of the Daewoo Metal Workers Union, whom I referred to as "the kind of guys we like to work with," were corrupt and controlled by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. Shorrock failed to note that my comments were in reference to Lee Yeung Kuen, president of the union at the time of my discussion with Shorrock. The workers he interviewed last spring were undoubtedly referring to Kim Young Man, who replaced Lee shortly after I left South Korea in August of 1983. Lee, a highly respected and dedicated union leader, enjoyed strong rank-and-file support before being ousted, possibly by the K.C.I.A., in favor of Kim. . . . It is at best wrong and at worst dishonest of Shorrock not to recognize that change in leadership; the result is a rather shoddy treatment of both Lee and myself.

Equally absurd is Shorrock's statement that AAFLI is determined to keep the South Korean labor movement out of politics. That was not the case. If Shorrock had more than a passing acquaintance with the realities of the South Korean labor situation, he would know that it is unfortunately illegal for unions there to engage in any partisan political action.

Although Shorrock may feel comfortable in urging others to be cannon fodder for his ideological agenda, those who must suffer the consequences have a right and responsibility to define their struggle for freedom in ways *they* decide are effective. Five years of working closely with South Korean trade unionists has left me with a tremendous admiration for their courage, tenacity and ingenuity under the most trying of conditions. Unlike Shorrock, those of us who have been privileged to share their struggle on a day-to-day basis understand how difficult it is to expand the parameters of democracy in an authoritarian environment. If Shorrock wishes to criticize that effort, it's his right. However, I hope in the future he would bring at least a modicum of professionalism to the task. *George Curtin*
Michigan State A.F.L.-C.I.O.,
Director, Committee on Political Education

SHORROCK REPLIES

Washington

Through an error made (and later corrected) by *The Nation*, George Curtin was misquoted. He did not make the comment about "different ethnic standards"; that was his boss, Morris Paladino.

In regard to the Daewoo union, I can only say that my sources informed me that the problems between the rank and file and the union leadership dated back to at least 1980; they did not name names. In retrospect, I should have quoted Curtin's replacement in Seoul, who in the summer of 1984 (long after Lee had been ousted) pointed to the Daewoo union as an example of a "worker's institution" that "reminded him of American unions."

Beyond that, the failure of Gray and Curtin to document any "half-truths" and "distortions," and their resort to innuendo, personal attack and Red-baiting, underlines the desperation that grips AAFLI and its fellow cold-warriors in the International Affairs Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Curtin's accusation that I am "urging" Korean workers to be "cannon fodder" for my "ideological agenda" is a case in point. As a former resident of South Korea, a writer and a union member, I have consistently argued that American interests are best served by supporting the South Korean democratic movement rather than generals like Chun Doo Hwan.

But AAFLI's position is set according to the direction of the political winds in Washington and Seoul. In the case of the Chongkye Garment Workers Union (which I accurately described as a "major recipient of [AAFLI] funds"), AAFLI ended its support—as Curtin himself admits—when "the Seoul city government disbanded the union through government orders." Since then the union has reorganized and initiated a campaign to gain official recognition, but AAFLI still refuses to support the workers because they have formed an alliance with student and religious groups that AAFLI views as anti-American "cadre." Moreover, AAFLI has said nothing in public or in its U.S. newsletter about Chongkye's plight, the April 1985 strike at Daewoo Motors, the imprisonment of the eight rank-and-file activists who led the Daewoo walkout, or the one hundred other trade unionists in Korean jails.

What kind of solidarity is that?
Tim Shorrock

AUTHOR'S QUERY

For an article about Fidel Castro's years in America in the late 1940s, I would appreciate hearing from anyone with information or reminiscences. *Michael Zimbalist*
98 St. Mark's Place
New York, NY 10009

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 242, Number 12

LETTERS
442

EDITORIALS
441 A Magazine, A Movement
443 Bookish Protest
444 Dissent Upheld
445 *Contra* Polygraphs — *Martha Honey*

COLUMNS
446 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
448 Sovieticus — *Stephen F. Cohen*
449 Capitol Letter — *Kai Bird and Max Holland*

ARTICLES
441 Ramona Africa's Defense: Move v. The City of Philadelphia — *Jim Quinn*
450 Front-Loading Dixie: Vote No on the Southern Primary — *Curtis B. Gans*
452 Stop Exporting Jobs: A Trade Policy for the People — *Bill Goold and John Cavanagh*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
461 Vargas Llosa: The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta — *Terrence Rafferty*
462 Double Elegy (poem) — *Ira Sadoff*
463 Barnard, ed.: Outside the Magic Circle: The Autobiography of Virginia Foster Durr — *Wendy Gimbel*
464 Mintz: At Any Cost: Corporate Greed, Women, and the Dalkon Shield
Perry and Dawson: Nightmare: Women and the Dalkon Shield
Engelmayer and Waxman: Lord's Justice — *Cynthia W. Cooke*
467 Films — *Andrew Kopkind*

Drawings by Kimberly Bulcken Root

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Vania Del Borgo, Judith Long; *Editorial Secretary,* Marpessa Dawn Outlaw; *Interns,* Gwen Bondi (Washington), David P. Appell, Julia Burch, Paul W. Cohen, Dave Goldiner, David C. Lanchner, David L.L. Laskin, Todd Lewan; *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Fiction,* Terrence Rafferty; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* Evan Eisenberg, David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Capitol Letter*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Randall Cherry, Mitchel Cohen; *Nation Associates Director,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. Directors: Arthur Carter, Hamilton Fish 3rd, Victor Navasky.

© 1986 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc.,
72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation,* Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price:* One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Bookish Protest

"Ignorance is like an exotic fruit; touch it and the bloom is gone." Lady Bracknell's mordant observation could serve as an epigraph for the Reagan Administration's appalling record of restrictions on the flow of information to Americans. The war against enlightenment is waged with many weapons: by narrowing the scope of the Freedom of Information Act, by stopping the dissemination of transcripts and documents from public agencies, by closing government bookstores and reading rooms, by denying visas to writers critical of the United States, by attacking newspapers that print disagreeable stories and networks that present unpleasant accounts of government activities, by using lie detector tests against whistleblowers, by restricting the attendance of foreign scholars at scientific gatherings. Some of the skirmishes seem insignificant: in one instance, the Federal Communications Commission turned over the publication of its opinions and decisions to a private service, making it harder, and more expensive, for researchers to procure their

The Sherrod Library
APR 07 1986 East Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee 37614
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

materials. Other cases are more egregious: the C.I.A. is moving back into the nation's intellectual life after a cautious post-Vietnam period, directing scholarship into politically useful streams and collecting a corps of teachers with an appropriate academic sensibility who will dominate their fields. All of it promotes ignorance in one way or another, whether by suppressing information and communication or, more subtly, by channeling knowledge into official service.

Opposition to the campaign has been slow to build, in part because the Administration has camouflaged its meaning with superficial rationales—budget constraints, security requirements, bureaucratic convenience. But just as a new dark age is descending on Washington, the children of enlightenment have rallied. The unlikely setting for this small Armageddon is the main reading room of the Library of Congress, a haven for researchers, browsers and literary adventure seekers from around the world. When librarian Daniel Boorstin, who had protested the cuts, attempted to shorten the weekly hours of operation by nearly a third, to reduce acquisitions, to cut programs for the blind and other handicapped users and to fire 300 employees, the readers rose up in an angry protest.

Led by a Nader Raider, Russell Mokhiber, who had recently toiled in the library to research a book on corporate crime, the readers organized a demonstration and sit-in against the cutbacks. On Monday, March 10, when the new hours were to take effect, about a hundred people plunked themselves down in the great book-lined, wood-paneled room and refused to move when the 5:30 curfew sounded. They demanded the traditional four hours of evening operation that the library had provided for almost eighty years—plus Sunday hours, which Boorstin had cut out entirely.

The authorities quaked before their wrath and took no punitive action. Again the demonstrators came on Tuesday, and again they sat in until the old closing time. On Wednesday, the library stayed open late, as called for by the new rules, but on Thursday the reader-rebels were back, and this time the police moved in. Like so many peaceable kingdoms militarized by Reagan's political designs, the library was suddenly invaded by cops, who dragged out the insurgents and hauled fourteen of them off to jail. (Last week the library informed Mokhiber and six others demonstrators that they were barred from the building until October 1.)

This time the Administration may have gone too far. The library's officials say that reductions were necessitated by Gramm-Rudman budget-cutting imperatives, but in fact Boorstin was compelled to reduce his budget by only 4 percent. He chose to dramatize that small constriction by lopping 30 percent off the hours of operation—the most visible public service of his institution. "About twenty minutes' worth of the annual military budget would keep the library open on its old schedule, plus supply all the money needed to restore the services for the handicapped, to continue its acquisitions at the old rate and to rehire the employees it fired," Mokhiber said. "What we're saying is that the library is vital for national defense, too—defense against illiteracy, poverty, crime and ignorance."

One graduate student who regularly uses the reading room is compiling a list of countries whose national libraries are now open longer than the Library of Congress. About twenty countries, he says, are less afraid than America that an educated populace will cause trouble for the regime. By the end of last week, Boorstin remained unconvinced, but the raider-readers are not finished yet, and they promise a springtime full of protests.

Dissent Upheld

On March 5 a West German labor court ruled that Radio Liberty must give Vadim Belotserkovsky his job back. The Soviet émigré, an employee of the station since 1973, was fired last May after writing an article for *The Nation* protesting anti-Semitic and antidemocratic statements in Radio Liberty broadcasts [see "Undoing the West in the Soviet Union," March 16, 1985]. Station officials claimed that he was discharged because his protests violated a section of the union contract barring "journalistic activities . . . [that] adversely affect the legitimate interests" of the station. The West German court, however, did not buy that argument, confirming Belotserkovsky's belief, and ours, that his dismissal was a violation of his right of free speech.

Radio Liberty has up to two months to appeal, and an official there told us last week that it will do so in order to keep Belotserkovsky out of his job for the next year.

An earlier event, related in an ironic way to Belotserkovsky's case, may give Radio Liberty pause as it prepares to fight a second round. That is the disappearance last month of Oleg Tymanov, a Soviet defector who rose to the position of acting chief editor at the station after jumping ship in the Mediterranean in 1965. Colleagues believe that Tymanov has defected to the Soviet Union.

According to station officials, as acting chief editor he approved the broadcast of an anti-Semitic passage from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's novel *August 1914*. Tymanov may have cleared several other controversial broadcasts, which have been the subject of Congressional investigations and public protests since 1984. His possible defection has prompted some officials at Radio Liberty to theorize that he was a Soviet mole, planted to discredit the station by disseminating antidemocratic and anti-Semitic propaganda.

If that is true, the Reagan Administration and its virulently anticommunist appointees now holding top jobs at the station were unwitting accomplices to a K.G.B. plot. While claiming to make Radio Liberty a beacon of Western values, they allowed it to propagate the message of Solzhenitsyn and his ultranationalist sympathizers that, as Belotserkovsky described it in these pages, "democracy is a corrupt system of government . . . doomed to collapse before the onslaught of Communism." The Administration should recognize that human rights crusades start at home and order the immediate reinstatement of Vadim Belotserkovsky.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contra Polygraphs

San José, Costa Rica

Juan Zabala Mora, 50, is a Nicaraguan *contra*, and he is at war—not, for the moment, with the Sandinistas but with the C.I.A. He is one of a number of high-ranking *contra* leaders who in recent months have been expelled from or have quit the Costa Rica-based Nicaraguan Armed Revolutionary Force (FARN) because they refused to take a lie detector test.

Last fall the agency ordered military, political and administrative leaders of FARN to submit to the tests. *Contra* sources say it also required anti-Sandinista leaders in Honduras and Miami to undergo polygraph examinations. According to one rebel official, "The C.I.A. plans to make [them] obligatory for everyone who is working with American funds."

Here the tests are administered by persons known to work for the C.I.A.—among them, a Puerto Rican called Tom Castillo, a Colombian called Armando and a black and a white American whose names are not known. The tests are given at a safe house in Escazu, a residential area where many Americans live. Since the testing began, at least a half-dozen members have been expelled from FARN—by order of the C.I.A., their superiors told them.

The agency's involvement in the tests violates Congressional guidelines attached to the $27 million aid package prohibiting direct C.I.A. assistance to the *contras*. Several *contras* told me that agency operatives are no longer in their military camps, but they continue to direct anti-Sandinista affairs from San José, even dictating who can and who cannot be a leader.

FARN, which is led by Fernando (El Negro) Chamorro, is allied with the largest of the *contra* groups, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.), which operates out of Honduras. FARN and the F.D.N. are both members of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO), which was formed last June at the behest of the Reagan Administration to oversee the disbursal of $27 million in "humanitarian" aid. FARN is the main guerrilla group in Costa Rica designated to receive the aid. Two other organizations based there, Edén Pastora's ARDE and the Miskito Indian leader Brooklyn Rivera's Misurasata, have been excluded from aid.

FARN sources say they were told that before "humanitarian" funds would be sent, the C.I.A. wanted the organization overhauled and a new military command structure created. Ostensibly so that Sandinista infiltrators could be screened out, all those being considered for leadership positions had to submit to lie detector tests. The UNO directorate, composed of Arturo Cruz, Alfonso Robelo and Adolfo Calero, and C.I.A. officials drew up a list of about forty individuals slated to take the test. El Negro was told to convince FARN members to cooperate, and two other FARN officials, both of whom are said to be on the agency's payroll, helped administer the examinations.

In a recent interview Cruz said he knew nothing about the polygraph testing, but added, "If it's for security reasons and is performed in an orderly fashion, with complete objectivity, . . . I would not object." Zabala and five other dissidents regard the testing as a crude attempt by the agency to intimidate FARN and other anti-Sandinista leaders.

Zabala, who was FARN's second-in-command and is a leader highly respected by other *contras*, says he repeatedly turned down El Negro's requests to take the test. In mid-February, he says, "El Negro came and said the C.I.A. was telling him he had to kick me out or he himself would be kicked out. The C.I.A. saw my refusal as an act of rebellion. I believe they ordered the polygraphs to humiliate us and gain control. They want to direct everything we do."

FARN's former logistics chief, who quit soon after he was forced to take the exam, says: "The idea that Juan Zabala is an infiltrator is absurd. I believe the objective was to weed out people who are less than obedient. The C.I.A. is scared of the [*contras'*] southern front because it has had a more dignified and independent position [than the F.D.N. in the north]. We accept U.S. advisers and aid but not people who come to give orders."

Roger Monge Zelaya, a FARN administrator who was expelled after he took the test says, "The polygraph was not designed to detect enemies of the counterrevolution but enemies of the C.I.A. . . . directing us."

Monge and the former logistics chief report that they were driven to the test site by Armando. The house was empty except for the polygraph machine and a few chairs. Another C.I.A. agent administered the test. After he had strapped a belt around their chest, put a pressure gauge on their upper arm and attached sensors to their fingertips, he asked them a series of questions including:

> Were you ever a member of the Communist Party of Nicaragua?
> Did you ever work for the Sandinista government?
> What is your job in FARN?
> Do you belong to any other organizations?
> Do you consider Edén Pastora a genuine leader?

The subjects were also asked about a *contra* leader named Carlos Coronel, whom the C.I.A. suspects is a Sandinista infiltrator. Anyone who admitted having contact with Coronel or considered him a friend has been expelled from FARN. According to Coronel the polygraph testing is "an intimidation operation aimed at keeping people away from me because they know I won't submit to C.I.A. orders."

The C.I.A. program has had disastrous results from the *contras'* standpoint. It was intended to transform the rebels on the southern front into an effective tool of U.S. policy. Instead, in the past few months all of FARN's top leaders have quit or been expelled, and most of its troops in the field have deserted. Last fall FARN had about 500 guerrillas and it planned to increase its numbers to 5,000. Today it has fewer than two dozen fighters. At the next meeting of the National Security Council will George Shultz, a famous opponent of polygraphs, say, "I told you so"? Somehow, I doubt it.

MARTHA HONEY

Martha Honey reports for The Times *and* The Sunday Times *of London, the BBC and other television networks.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

A Mendacity So Immense

I had reckoned that the Star Wars address represented President Reagan's most prodigious leap into fantasy, but the delirious monologue on the subject of Nicaragua delivered on March 16 to a national audience was far more extraordinary. The torrent of mad abuse was awe-inspiring. I counted forty-seven distortions, false conclusions, outrageous inductions and direct misrepresentations of fact. Every lie about Nicaragua concocted by the factories of the right over the past six years was compacted into the twenty-minute paroxysm: Nicaragua is planning to overthrow Mexico; it is building a military deep-water port for the Soviet Union, constructing the largest airfield in Central America, destabilizing Brazil, acting as a country club for every terrorist group in Europe, smuggling cocaine to the United States.

Every one of these whiskered phantasms and scores more have been explored and refuted, but of course that did not deter the President and his speech writers. Nor should we expect any reverence for fact on their part. But the lies were so sickly egregious that, in the days that followed, there was some timid effort on the part of the press to correct the record. Brazil's protest was noted (unlike President Alan García's statement that if the United States intervened in Nicaragua, Peru would break off relations), as was the Drug Enforcement Agency's reiteration that it has no evidence to support Reagan's allegations that "top Nicaraguan government officials are deeply involved in drug trafficking." But no paper I read quoted the A.P.'s coverage of a story that ran in the *San Francisco Examiner* that same Sunday. The *Examiner*, quoting from previously sealed court records, disclosed that a cocaine ring organized in the San Francisco area by one Carlos Cabezas had helped finance the *contras* and that another ring, organized by Julio Zavala on the West Coast and in Miami, had enabled Zavala to send $500,000 to two *contra* groups operating in Costa Rica. Most scandalous of all, Federal authorities had returned to Zavala $36,020 in drug money they had confiscated after Zavala quoted a *contra* leader as saying the money was for the "reinstatement of democracy in Nicaragua."

To have had and not used such a story, available on the A.P. wires as the President was denouncing Sandinista drug trafficking, suggests an astounding degree of self-censorship on the part of the press, which now regards it as treason to assemble factual rebuttal or provide balancing commentary from serious opponents of Reagan's policies.

Sasser's Sophistries

Among such serious opponents should not be classed Senator James Sasser of Tennessee, the Democrat who followed Reagan on the air and who began with an enthusiastic endorsement of the President's premises: the Sandinistas are a bunch of thugs who have betrayed their revolution and who must not be permitted to engineer a Communist beachhead in Central America. On the evidence of his speech it was all too easy to imagine Sasser pleading with a gang of *contras* not to rape a schoolteacher. Yes, he'd say, she's probably a Sandinista sympathizer, has betrayed her vocation to her pupils and must not be permitted to foster the spirit of totalitarianism in the schoolhouses of the Nicaraguan back country. All that is true, the Senator would tell the *contras*, but why not give negotiation a chance? See whether the schoolteacher will sleep with you voluntarily and if after three months she's still holding out, then you have a perfect right to rape her, and in fact I'll help you tear off her dress.

Sasser and his fellow Democrats merely represent Reaganism at a slightly slower and more artful pace, constant in their central, immoral stance, that arguments for or against arming the *contras* should be based on tactical considerations rather than principles of noninterference. This style stretches across the "liberal" spectrum, from *The New Republic*, whose editorial in the March 24 issue claims that U.S. imperial self-interest demands funding of the *contras*, to Anthony Lewis, who wrote in *The New York Times* for March 10: "The Sandinistas are not our ideal of democracy. But the question is whether an effort to replace them by force with the contras is going to produce a better result, for Nicaragua or for us." That's not the question at all. The question is whether the United States has any right to make such an effort, and the answer is no.

Reagan has successfully defined the terms of the debate: self-proclaimed liberals opposing aid to the *contras* feel themselves unable to do so without prefacing the statement by saying that the Sandinistas are unpopular totalitarians who have betrayed their revolution, etc., etc. *The New York Times*'s editorial beef with Reagan on March 18 was that his exaggeration "damages the credibility of the hemisphere's real grievances," which—as outlined by the *Times* editorial—consist of more or less everything charged by President Reagan. Amid the hysteria one has to pinch oneself occasionally to remember that all of this has not the slightest relationship to anything going on in Nicaragua, where the Sandinistas have not betrayed the revolution and where, unlike the *contras*, they enjoy popular support.

The Next Phase

What we have been witnessing over the past few weeks is the forging of a bipartisan consensus on policy toward Nicaragua (against the will of a majority of the U.S. electorate, be it noted), with the Democrats, à la Sasser, drawing a velveteen glove over the Reaganite fist. The consensus: the *contras* cannot win unaided; U.S. intervention on a far larger scale will be needed to overthrow the Nicaraguan government; and a major effort to delude the American people must be made, with a quick rehab of the *contras* as "the democratic opposition." One may then speculate that the famous deep-water port at El Bluff will assume the role that the airfield in Grenada played as an emblem of Soviet adventurism, and the stage will be set for a Tonkin Gulf–style resolution and bipartisan agreement on a major escalation, such as a U.S. blockade.

The forging of this consensus should preoccupy anyone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thinking about political strategies for the next few years. Those foolish enough to suppose that a Mondale victory would have made a difference to U.S. policy toward Nicaragua may care to study the full-page advertisement that appeared in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* the day of Reagan's speech. The advertisement, taken out by "Friends of the Democratic Center in Central America (PRODEMCA)," called for U.S. military aid to the *contras* and was signed by numerous Mondale supporters and Carter alumni, including David Aaron, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Samuel Huntington and Richard Holbrooke.

The ad nicely represented the broad stream of cold war liberalism discussed here two weeks ago in connection with *The New York Review of Books*, Robert Leiken and Bruce Cameron. Its signatories included the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (Penn Kemble and Ben Wattenberg), the S.D. U.S.A., the A.F.L.-C.I.O. (John Joyce of the Bricklayers, Frank Drozak of the Seamen), *The New Republic* (Martin Peretz and Leon Wieseltier), along with such riffraff as Michael Novak and John Silber. Theirs is the time-tested ideology of Hubert Humphrey and Scoop Jackson—pious rhetoric about the "democratic resistance" commingling with rabid anticommunism. The Reagan Administration is finding this model more useful than Jeane Kirkpatrick's, now retired for a spell of R & R. I looked up from the PRODEMCA ad and found Reagan on the TV, invoking the Truman doctrine, as if to confirm the point that successful salesmanship of the U.S. imperial project requires the strategies of Sasser, Cameron and *The New York Review* as much as the fascist rampages of Pat Buchanan and the *New Republic* editorial. This editorial prompted Abraham Brumberg, former editor of *Problems of Communism*, to resign as a contributing editor. Peretz refused to publish his letter of complaint, even as *TNR*'s Charles Krauthammer condemned Sandinista censorship and as the Sandinistas ran Reagan's speech on Nicaraguan TV.

Commies Stop at Nothing

The Reagan Administration's attempts to deter any substantive debate about its Central America policies have taken some bizarre turns. In a speech to regional journalists on March 11 the President suddenly denounced *Nicaraguan Perspectives*, a journal put out by the Berkeley-based Nicaragua Information Center, calling it a propaganda tool of the Nicaraguan government. Because lack of funds prevents this excellent little publication from coming out more than a couple of times a year, with a print run of 5,000 copies, it is unlikely that anyone in Reagan's audience knew what he was talking about as he railed against the "slick publication . . . filled with propaganda . . . propaganda against the *contras*, against us and in favor of them." One prominent university professor, Reagan continued, "had written a lead article in this particular issue and if that's what he tells his students, God help them."

Jim Eitel, editor of *Nicaraguan Perspectives*, told me that local backing in the wake of Reagan's denunciation had been gratifying and that the Berkeley City Council had promulgated a supportive resolution. The "prominent university professor" was E. Bradford Burns of the U.C.L.A. history department, who said that he was overjoyed with the press platform Reagan had afforded him and that the U.C.L.A. administration had been extremely sympathetic. When he entered his classroom after Reagan's attack, the hundred or so students gave him a standing ovation.

The Polecat Factor

Such efforts to delegitimize all but a narrow wave band of commentators—either friendly or innocuously dissident—continue apace. The leftward end of the permitted spectrum of debate in the mainstream media ends somewhere in the tiny space between Ben Wattenberg, Morton Kondracke and Fred Barnes. My colleague Christopher Hitchens is now discovering how easy it is to get on a current-affairs show, once. Having satisfactorily disposed of the vulgar braggart Emmett Tyrrell on *Firing Line* he has yet to receive a return invitation. *The McLaughlin Group* has apparently decided that his appearance there had best remain unique. He went on *Crossfire*, where the right-wing Robert Novak is "balanced" by that tottering tower of jelly Tom Braden, and was duly abused by Novak as a K.G.B. agent and foe of freedom. But these conservatives shun a fair fight and, like all bullies, flee at the first sign of resolute opposition. In one exchange of endearments, Hitchens called Novak a McCarthyite bum and a polecat. At the end of a later tirade from Novak, Hitchens said, "More musk from the polecat." Next time he went on the program Hitchens was told by the producers that the great roughhouse artist Novak was reluctant to appear with Hitchens. Would Hitchens treat him with kid gloves? they pleaded. Novak later plunged into his habitual vituperation, and Hitchens responded in kind. Now Novak adamantly refuses to go on with Hitchens. My own view is that Novak thought Hitchens was calling him a Polack. No one should mind being called a polecat. Polecats are fine little creatures, as ferret fanciers will joyfully attest.

On March 14, Hitchens was due to go on *From the Editor's Desk*, a syndicated television program from WPIX in New York City, in which he and Robert Bartley of *The Wall Street Journal* were to interview Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams on the subject of human rights in Central America. But Abrams telephoned WPIX the night before the taping and, on discovering his interlocutors, demanded that Hitchens be disinvited. To their credit, WPIX's producers refused, and so Abrams canceled his appearance, thus denying the public an encounter, in the midst of the *contra* debate, in which he might have had to face serious cross-examination. He later tried to justify this act of censorship by saying that Hitchens was not in the mainstream. By and large, a left-wing person is invited on such shows only when his or her function is to incarnate the evil under discussion. I'm always getting calls to stand in for Terror, the interviewer's keen expectation and hope being that I will issue a stirring defense of the slaughter of small children.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOVIETICUS.

STEPHEN F. COHEN

Ever since Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet leader a year ago, most American commentators have overestimated his personal power and underestimated his commitment to domestic reform. Additional confirmation of those misperceptions was provided by events preceding and during the 27th Communist Party Congress, which ended on March 6.

In contrast to his three aged and infirm predecessors, Gorbachev has revitalized the office of General Secretary and become a strong, activist leader. But there is no evidence that he has established "an iron grip on power," as is often said. The post-congress Politburo has eleven other voting members. Most owe their careers to Leonid Brezhnev or Yuri Andropov, not to Gorbachev. Several of them may be his reliable allies in various disputes, but few are his unconditional supporters in matters of major policy—where they have exhibited different approaches—or of personnel. Thus, while Gorbachev had the votes to oust Viktor Grishin as Moscow party boss and from the Politburo, he failed in similar moves against Grishin's counterparts in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, Vladimir Shcherbitsky and Dinmukhamed Kunaev.

All of these Politburo oligarchs have their own networks of clients to promote, so there is no reason to assume, as is usually done, that only Gorbachev benefited from the mass personnel changes that occurred in other party and state organizations during the past year. As General Secretary, his patronage is the most extensive but not a monopoly, as indicated by the composition of the 307-member Central Committee announced at the congress. Many of the approximately 125 new voting members have ties to other powerful politicians, and 60 percent of all members are holdovers from the Brezhnev era, who are unlikely to be enthusiastic about Gorbachev's de-Brezhnevization campaigns.

Moreover, Gorbachev and his loyalists have been relatively candid about the persistence of high-level constraints on their ability to shape policy, particularly in the traditionally conservative state ministries. Informing the congress that "even now the demand for radical change gets bogged down," Boris Yeltsin, the new Moscow chief, went further. He admitted that such opposition is also rooted in "the party Central Committee apparatus as a whole." Since the General Secretary is head of that apparatus, Yeltsin's revelation casts more doubt on the extent of Gorbachev's power.

Most American commentators have also concluded that Gorbachev is not a real reformer—only a "technocrat" or even a "neo-Stalinist" determined to increase economic productivity without market-related measures or any kind of political/cultural thaw, as occurred under Khrushchev. Here, too, the evidence suggests otherwise. Unable to dictate policy and no doubt mindful of Khrushchev's fate, Gorbachev has moved cautiously, assuaging conservatives' anxiety with his calls for order and discipline and avoiding dramatic appeals to the liberal intelligentsia. But during his year in office, he has done nothing to discourage even bold economic reformers in the establishment and, in his keynote speech to the party congress, much to encourage them.

Pointedly and repeatedly, Gorbachev spoke the code words and complaints associated with proponents of market-oriented change since the early 1960s. Rejecting "half-measures" as well as "old stereotypes and practices," he called for "radical reforms" and "the boldest steps." He even evoked Lenin's famous speech introducing the New Economic Policy, which marketized large parts of the Soviet economy in the 1920s and remains a model for many radical reformers. Gorbachev's deputy for agriculture did the same, embracing the NEP principle that if market relations grow alongside a predominant state sector, "there is nothing to be afraid of."

More specifically, Gorbachev strongly implied that he supports longstanding reformist proposals, including private enterprise in service industries, "profit-oriented methods" of state management, revisions in fixed prices to reflect consumer demand, a reduction in compulsory collective farm deliveries and an expanded role for family farming. None of this was negated by his emphatic reaffirmation of central planning; reformers have never proposed its abolition, only a combination of "plan and market." In that respect, Gorbachev's speech was the most reformist by a Soviet leader in more than twenty years.

Nor is there reason to believe that he is opposed to some kind of thaw. Indeed, Gorbachev's year in office has already brought a significant relaxation in political and cultural life. His demand for more candor about economic and social problems has spread quickly to major newspapers, literature, film and the theater. Characteristic themes of the Khrushchev thaw have reappeared, from attacks on official privilege and corruption to criticism of "the gray flood of hack-work" in state-controlled culture. Censorship is being pushed back, however tentatively; in the Soviet system, that is an aspect of political liberalization.

Although Gorbachev's thaw serves his reformist purpose, it is acquiring its own momentum. In a February interview with the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, the poet Andrei Voznesensky insisted, "People are now mature enough to see and read everything." Similarly, long-forbidden political viewpoints are being reasserted. Before a cheering theater audience, the popular writer and bard Bulat Okudzhava recently assaulted Stalin for "the blood you made flow like water," while a mass-circulation magazine described the Khrushchev era as "positive." Privately, even some high-level officials are predicting a "new cultural spring." Such developments may not improve the treatment of avowed dissidents, but they respond to the aspirations of millions of Soviet citizens and thus deserve our attention.

It is too early to foresee the contours of the Gorbachev era, or even to be fully confident there will be one. He has restored the general secretaryship as an active leadership position, relegitimized the principle of fundamental change and created a political atmosphere of reform. But faced with legions of conservative and neo-Stalinist defenders of the status quo, Gorbachev is still far from being the master of power or policy. With the nature of the Soviet system at stake, we may be certain only that the struggle will continue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITOL LETTER.

KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

■ End of an Era

The "Saudi era," which began with a bang, is ending with a whimper. When the price of oil quadrupled in 1973-74, it seemed that the Middle East would be forever changed, and with it U.S. policy. The petrodollar was going to turn the Shah's Iran into another West Germany, enable the Saudis to wean the United States from Israel, and even deliver a homeland for the Palestinians. None of that came to pass, and the Saudis have lost much of their luster in Washington.

Earlier this month, the Saudi Ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, tried to recapture some of the old glory, at least in social Washington, by throwing what many observers called the most elaborate fashion show Washington had ever seen. Although the price of a barrel of oil is now in the low teens, the Saudis, whose cost of production is about 50 cents a barrel, can still afford an occasional indulgence. The $500,000 evening prompted one socialite to remark, wistfully, "This reminds me of the seventies, when embassies really gave bashes."

The presence of Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger at the Ambassador's table was a reminder that even fashion galas have a political agenda. The evening coincided with the Reagan Administration's decision to sell the Saudis 2,600 sophisticated missiles and antiaircraft weapons, at a total cost of $350 million. In 1981, when the last major arms sale to the Saudis took place, a phalanx of highly paid lobbyists opposed the pro-Israel lobby in Congress. Fred Dutton, once a top aide to Robert Kennedy, whose law firm has earned at least $2 million advising the royal family since 1973, played a key role in that fight. The Saudis also retained three well-connected public relations/lobbying firms to bolster Dutton's efforts: (Robert) Gray and Company, the (Peter) Hannaford Company and the Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Company. It is expected that a similar public relations effort will be made this time around.

The Saudis' 1981 arms deal reinforced Israeli fears about an Administration top-heavy with supposed Arabists. Most suspect were Caspar Weinberger, an alumnus of the Bechtel Corporation, which has billions of dollars in engineering and construction contracts at stake in the oil-rich countries, and George Shultz, another former Bechtel executive. Since then Weinberger has embraced strategic cooperation with Israel. And although Shultz advanced the 1982 Reagan plan, a blueprint for a comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, the debacle of U.S. intervention in Lebanon in 1984 so soured him on the Arabist view of the region that he is now considered the most pro-Israel figure in the upper echelons of the Administration.

Shultz signaled the end of the Saudi era—an occasional multibillion-dollar arms sale to the contrary notwithstanding—when he appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in February to discuss the foreign aid bill. The Middle East was mentioned only in connection with the subject of international terrorism; there was no talk about the need for Persian Gulf oil or a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

For all the wealth of the Saudi era, it is most remarkable for its poverty of political imagination both here and abroad. The Administration is fixated on routing terrorism and propping up conservative monarchs, sometimes with expensive hi-tech weaponry. The highest-level U.S. delegation to visit the Middle East lately included Director of Central Intelligence William Casey, U.N. ambassador Vernon Walters, U.S.I.A. director Charles Z. Wick and former Chase Manhattan bank chair David Rockefeller. The group went to Morocco earlier this month to join King Hassan II in celebrating the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Casey's inclusion was a recognition of the role the C.I.A. has played in Morocco, most recently in January 1983, when it helped Hassan thwart a coup by a group of army officers. While the United States toasts Hassan's rule, which, according to Amnesty International, has been marked by the widespread use of torture, unrest festers in the West Bank, Egypt and Lebanon, and the Iran-Iraq conflagration rages on. By the 1990s the Saudi era will seem a halcyon time.

■Divided at Home

The Saudi era of increased Arab power had its counterpart in this country. A grass-roots political awakening in the Arab-American community promised to redress the pro-Israel imbalance in U.S. policy. But the performance has not lived up to the promise.

Of all the groups formed since 1970 the one that figured to be the most effective was the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (A.D.C.). Its goal—to expose racist stereotyping and discrimination against Arab-Americans—was, on the surface, domestic. But the hope was that if the prejudicial image of Arabs in the mainstream media was broken down, a change in the premises of U.S. foreign policy would follow.

Former Senator James Abourezk was one of the A.D.C.'s founders and has been its national chair since its inception, in 1980. His unstinting opposition to the Vietnam War in the Senate and his leadership in the fight to discontinue U.S. aid to foreign police forces made him a hero among liberals. He was one of the first Arab-Americans to speak out against the injustice of U.S. policy in the Middle East and racism at home. But Abourezk's leadership of the A.D.C. has been deeply divisive; he brooks no rivals within or without the organization. Jim Zogby, the group's first director, was fired after his successful effort to make Arab-Americans partners in Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition threatened to eclipse Abourezk's media visibility. Zogby's replacement, Omar Kader, fared no better, even though he put on the most successful annual convention in the A.D.C.'s history last summer. Self-aggrandizement, it seems, is characteristic of the Saudi era regardless of venue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

FRONT-LOADING DIXIE

Vote No on the Southern Primary

CURTIS B. GANS

What if the principal beneficiaries of the proposed Southern regional primary are not Democratic moderates, as its supporters intend, but Jesse Helms and the Republican ultraright? What if the impact is not to push the Democratic Party toward the mythical political center but to solidify the extreme right's domination of the Republican Party and the American national dialogue?

Those are not rhetorical questions. The proposal for both parties to hold their Presidential nominating contests in the South on the second Tuesday in March is now in place in five states and has passed in at least one chamber of the legislature in another five. Contrary to the claims of the Southern Democratic governors and party officials who are advocating it, such a primary will benefit the Republican right, further divide the Democratic Party and intensify the present polarization of American politics.

Primaries are won by pluralities and magnified into majorities by the media. The Republican candidate with the best chance of winning such a plurality in the South is the one who has the support of fundamentalist evangelicals, poor whites fearful of change and hostile to blacks, and former Democrats who left the party because of its views on racial issues. That candidate is not the earnest Representative Jack Kemp from New York or the preppy Vice President George Bush from Houston by way of Connecticut. That candidate is Jesse Helms or someone just like him.

Because the Republican Party's base in the Southwest and some mountain states is composed of similarly right-wing elements of the electorate, the winner of the Southern primary has a better than even chance to win the contests in those regions also. And because the delegate apportionment formula of the Republican Party's convention strongly favors the South, Southwest and mountain states, the winner of the Southern primary might have a virtual veto over the Republican ticket, if not a place on it.

The Southern primary's impact on the Democratic Party is less predictable. Those behind the idea hope that a moderate Southerner will win, pick up support in subsequent primaries in other states and thus earn a place at the top or bottom of the Democratic ticket.

But three other scenarios are just as likely:

§ A Southerner might win but not be able to attract support in other regions. That would present the Democratic National Convention with a choice between rejecting that candidate and alienating the South, or putting him or her on the ticket and thus offering little help in regions where the party's needs are greater.

§ No clear-cut winner emerges, in which case the South will have forfeited its chances of influencing the nomination at a later time.

§ Or it might wound or frustrate the candidacy of a person from outside the region who has broad appeal and who is capable of uniting the party and governing the country.

Thus the odds are that the effect of a Southern regional primary on the Democratic Party would be harmful rather than beneficial.

There are other compelling reasons for not shortening and front-loading the primary season, as the Southern primary would do. Two of them were evident in 1984. Because several state tests were held on March 13, "Super Tuesday," less than four weeks into the primary season, the little-known Senator Gary Hart, who had lost the Iowa caucus and won the New Hampshire primary, might have been crowned the Democratic nominee if it hadn't been for a few thousand votes in Georgia and Alabama.

Because the primary season was attenuated, it was impossible for any new candidate to enter in May and thus provide the Democratic convention with a deliberative choice after Hart, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Walter Mondale had each shown conclusively that he could not broaden his base beyond his core constituency.

Any grouping of primaries by region or date serves to enhance those candidates who have sufficient funds to compete in several states at the same time. Multiple primaries enhance the power and influence of political consultants and encourage the tendency to rely on media manipulation. They undercut the role of organized and institutional forces in the party, which may be called on to deliver the decisive votes in the general election. And they shorten the primary season, which robs the public of the necessary time to evaluate and re-evaluate candidates against a variety of tests of skill, position and support.

Critics of the current system say that a long pre-nominating season with many individual contests is cumbersome and irrational, but it provides the only opportunity for candidates who are unknown and unfinanced to gain the credibility to compete with better-known and wealthier candidates. It provides the indispensable ingredient for evaluating both famous and obscure candidates—time.

Any sound nominating system creates a level playing field resting on the foundation of continuity and opportunity for orderly change. Such a system must not be so inflexible as to cause irreparable divisions which destroy the party's hopes, as happened in 1968. It must not be so open as to produce nominees who can be abandoned by large segments of the Democratic Party voters, as in 1972, 1980 and 1984. It must provide through sequential primaries and caucuses an op-

Curtis B. Gans is the director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, a nonpartisan research corporation looking into the causes and cures of low and declining voter participation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

portunity for involvement and expression. And it must provide a convention not solely tied to primary results as a means of uniting the rank and file with the party leadership in working toward a common purpose.

After a decade and a half of attempts to manipulate the rules to factional advantage (as liberal reformers did in the aftermath of Hubert Humphrey's defeat in 1968, and organized labor and partisans of Mondale and Senator Edward Kennedy did following Jimmy Carter's loss in 1980), the Democratic Party has made huge strides to bring the concepts of openness and order into proper balance. By establishing rules for timeliness, access, proportional representation and the elimination of the unit rule, the party provided orderly procedures by which the public could be heard. More recently, the reforms undertaken by the commission headed by former North Carolina Governor James Hunt and completed recently by Democratic National Committee chair Paul G. Kirk Jr. have reduced the power of factional caucuses and provided the convention with a large group of ex officio delegates who are not necessarily bound by the results of primaries. And by lowering the threshold of votes a candidate needs to claim his proportional share of delegates in any given primary or caucus from 20 percent to 15 percent (thus making it possible for more candidates to receive votes and remain viable as brokers or potential nominees), the party has gone a long way to restoring the convention to its original role of making the final decision on the party's nominee. It would be a shame if this hard-won progress was vitiated by one more attempt to gain factional advantage—this by region.

None of the foregoing is intended to suggest that Southerners do not have problems with the Democratic Party or that the Democratic Party does not have a problem in the South. The Democrats haven't won the region's electoral votes without a Southerner at the head of the ticket in more than two decades, and they haven't won without a Southerner on the ticket since 1944, when Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman were the candidates.

A 1984 *Washington Post*/ABC News poll showed a substantial erosion in Southern voters' traditional identification with the Democratic Party—which does not bode well for present and future Democratic officeholders. This situation has come about simply because the South is more conservative than the rest of the nation, and the Republican Party is more conservative than the Democratic. But Southern Democrats cannot make the situation better by manipulating the nominating process to make their party more conservative and thus risk alienating other regions and groups.

The answer lies, rather, in sound leadership of the kind that Bill Clinton and Terry Sanford, to name but two, can provide: people commanding respect in their region who can win over Southerners to less conservative ways and who are able to appeal to a national constituency. The answer also lies in the passage of time, for integration to be fully accepted and for the generations whose thinking is dominated by racism and militarism to pass from the scene. Meanwhile, the Democrats' best hope for fashioning a majority in Presidential elections may well reside in the West.

But there are larger issues at stake here. In the past twenty years a diminishing percentage of Americans have been voting with diminishing enthusiasm and hope in Presidential and other elections. More than 15 million Americans who voted in 1960 no longer did so in 1984. The last time followers of either party voted enthusiastically for their respective nominees was in 1956 (Republicans) and 1960 (Democrats). The last time an overwhelming majority of Americans approved of the direction in which their government was going was in the spring of 1965, before American troops were sent into combat in Vietnam. More and more elections are being decided on a negative basis. People vote against a candidate who represents a faction, against a President who did not perform to their expectations, against poor economic conditions.

There are choices in the political marketplace, but the choices often do not address the issues. It is easy to see why a citizen confronted with the current choice—the combination of right-wing populism and big-business greed that the Republican Party stands for and the cacophony of competing interests that the Democratic Party represents—would prefer to stay home.

The right-wing dominance in the Republican Party and the fractiousness in the Democratic would be enhanced by a Southern primary, while the public's faith in sound governance would deteriorate. Lacking an overwhelmingly popular figure such as Reagan at the head of the ticket, how can both parties develop durable electoral strength? The answers lie in the definition of party and national direction.

The Southern primary is not the first nor will it be the last attempt to use procedure to solve a substantive problem. But like most such attempts, it is likely to prove to be chimerical. The answer, dear Democrats and Republicans,

DRAWINGS BY KIMBERLY BULCKEN ROOT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

120th ANNIVERSARY ADDENDUM

Because of a tight deadline, several contributions and messages arrived too late for mention in last week's 120th anniversary issue. Herewith, a supplemental listing accompanied by our thanks.

ANGELS

OSBORN ELLIOTT
HOWARD L. ERNST
CHARLES, GLORIA AND PETER MANDELSTAM

SPONSORS

Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Cheers from Max Berking
John and Laree Caughey
Adnia D'Heurle
Francois D'Heurle
Lillian Weber
Milton Wolpin

In support of *The Nation*'s tradition of giving an opportunity to unknown young writers, we would especially like to salute former editors Carey McWilliams, Blair Clark, Robert Hatch and Harry Maurer.

—Peter Kovler and Judy Lansing

New York City
Long life is a virtue in itself. May *The Nation* become ever more virtuous. *Edward I. Koch*

∞

New York City
The Nation has long been a vital force for thought on a vast array of issues critical to us all. Keep at it.
Peter Jennings

∞

New York City
I read *The Nation* because it is feisty, irreverent; it penetrates the facade, doesn't parrot predictable liberal dogma. It thrives and flourishes as the most provocative voice of dissent in print. *Mike Wallace*

∞

Washington
I want to take this opportunity to congratulate *The Nation* on its 120th anniversary. *The Nation* continues to make a real contribution to the political dialogue in this country and I send my very best wishes for continued success. *Senator Ted Kennedy*

Southerners and Northerners, lies not in procedure but in purpose. □

STOP EXPORTING JOBS

A Trade Policy For the People

BILL GOOLD AND JOHN CAVANAGH

Trade wars occupied more hours of debate on Capitol Hill last fall than Star Wars or Central America, and the subject has already begun to dominate discussions in the spring. Free-traders quarrel with protectionists, one side urging that Americans embrace free trade as bargain-hunting consumers, the other that we take to the barricades in defense of jobs.

Both sides define winning the trade wars as eliminating America's $150 billion trade deficit, which, in practical terms, amounts to more than $600 for each American in foreign purchases that are not offset by sales abroad. And despite their differences in ideology and rhetoric, both free-traders and protectionists focus their energy on country bashing. The latter cook up bills to slap new tariffs, quotas and sanctions on Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Brazil and other culprits; the former limit themselves to issuing plaintive appeals for greater access to foreign markets.

No one, however, is asking the crucial question: How can the United States possibly win a trade war against China, South Korea or any other country in which wages are but a fraction of ours and in which U.S. corporate subsidiaries have rapidly narrowed the technological gap with the United States? The answer is that it can't, without substantially altering the terms of the debate. A new trade offensive based on labor rights offers a breath of fresh air to the debate which free-traders and protectionists cannot ignore.

Free-trade ideology was succinctly packaged by Ronald Reagan last September: "I, like you, recognize the inescapable conclusion that all of history has taught: the freer the flow of world trade, the stronger the tides for human progress and peace among nations." But under the pummeling of the unprecedented trade deficit, industrial decline and the deepening agriculture crisis, President Reagan and his diverse Congressional allies have shifted to what they label a fair-trade position, which comes down to threatening retaliation against trading partners who set up barriers to U.S. goods—a milder dose of the medicine prescribed by the protectionists.

Even the free-traders acknowledge that U.S. trade has always been far from free. The U.S. Trade Representative, Clayton Yeutter, admits that since 1980 this country has negotiated or imposed more than 425 textile and apparel quotas on foreign competitors. Agriculture is heavily pro-

Bill Goold is chief of staff for Representative Donald J. Pease of Ohio. John Cavanagh is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO AVOID THE DANGERS OF COUNTERFEIT AUTO PARTS

INFERIOR PARTS COULD THREATEN YOUR SAFETY

Today, a counterfeiter no longer has to print phony twenty-dollar bills. Selling imitation automotive replacement parts—packaged to resemble products from legitimate manufacturers—is big business.

For people who buy and use counterfeit auto parts, though, the consequences can be costly. For example, body panels may require expensive labor to bring their finish quality up to the rest of the car. Bogus oil filters have failed after 200 miles, causing unprotected engines to seize up, requiring their complete replacement.

Inferior transmission fluid has solidified at 0° Fahrenheit, ruining transmissions. And counterfeit antifreeze has eaten right through aluminum parts.

The failure can be safety-related. A fatal 1985 bus accident in Britain was attributed to the installation of counterfeit brake parts. Ill-fitting counterfeit gas caps can fall off, increasing the risk of a fire in a roll-over accident.

Here's how to make sure you receive parts that are made to work best in your GM car. Your most reliable source is your GM dealer. He can supply any part for your GM car or truck. Buying popular brand parts from reputable stores or garages is another way to improve your chances of getting the right part. But wherever you buy, be suspicious of discounts that seem too good to be true.

Some tip-offs that a part might be counterfeit:

Flimsy packaging.

Lack of name-brand identification such as AC-Delco.

"Look-alike" graphics or a change in the spelling of a recognized trade name. In this way counterfeiters can avoid prosecution under the 1984 Trademark Counterfeiting Law. So examine the package carefully.

If a replacement part doesn't fit easily, you should probably return it. A reputable distributor will almost certainly give you a refund or credit.

General Motors is taking strong measures in the U.S. and overseas to put a stop to parts counterfeiting. GM is trying to stop the problem at its source. So far we've helped U.S. marshals confiscate parts in raids on 29 counterfeiting operations. Another eight operations have been uncovered and prosecuted in foreign countries.

GM is also developing a hologram identification device, much like those becoming popular on credit cards, to improve security in our parts distribution.

After all, General Motors has a tremendous investment in GM parts that work together to give our customers safe, reliable cars and trucks. We want our customers to be confident they can maintain their GM vehicles at the same level of high quality we build them.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

GM
MARK OF EXCELLENCE

Chevrolet • Pontiac
Oldsmobile • Buick
Cadillac • GMC Truck

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tected through price supports, subsidies, tariffs and quotas. In almost all other sectors, selective quotas, "voluntary" quotas, tariffs, subsidies and other controls govern the flow of goods and services.

Even if trade were not so heavily controlled, recent developments in the world economy have undermined the free-traders' basic premises. During the first two decades after World War II, the American economy grew at a prodigious rate, and there seemed to be no end in sight. Most Americans saw their standard of living rise steadily as part of the general prosperity. Industries and manufacturing workers, producing primarily for the domestic market, were not threatened by imports. Free trade was a high-sounding principle, irrelevant to the day-to-day concerns of most Americans.

From the early 1960s to the present, America's position in the global economy changed dramatically. Easy access to critical raw materials at low prices disappeared in the upheaval wrought by Third World nationalism and producer cartels. U.S. exports did not keep pace with imports flooding the American marketplace, many made by overseas subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. In the past five years, a U.S. trade surplus has given way to an enormous deficit.

Who benefits from the new global economy, and who pays? All across America, scores of communities, hundreds of industries and millions of workers have been ravaged by the resulting economic dislocation. When imports jumped 26 percent, from $269 billion to $341 billion, over the course of 1984, American Express gauged that 1.8 million U.S. jobs were lost. To make things worse, Reagan is the first President in the postwar era to deny flatly that the Federal government has a responsibility to help the millions of American workers and firms adversely affected by the surge of imports.

The major gainers from this shift are U.S.-based multinational corporations that market finished products from standardized parts manufactured in plants abroad. Recent advances in transportation, such as containerization; communication, such as satellite telecommunication systems; and information systems, such as microcomputers, have greatly increased the ability of multinational corporations to shift production overseas to take advantage of low wages.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1984 the hourly wage for manufacturing workers in South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil was 11 percent, 13 percent and 10 percent of their American counterparts, respectively. Even in Japan—which has the largest trade surplus with the United States of the four countries targeted for sanctions in the trade bill sponsored by Representative Richard Gephardt, Representative Dan Rostenkowski and Senator Lloyd Bentsen—average hourly compensation came to only 50 percent of that in the United States.

American factories and workers cannot hope to compete with their counterparts in, say, Taiwan. Assembly workers there receive barely subsistence wages for eight-to-twelve-hour days. They live in crowded company-owned dorms with no air-conditioning, despite 100 degree heat and high humidity, no potable water, no recreational facilities and no social activities. Health and safety regulations are lax or nonexistent, even where workers handle hazardous products.

Strikes are all but illegal under martial law (100 percent of the affected workers must vote to strike). According to the Asia Resource Center in Washington, although a collective-bargaining statute is on the books, there are no agreements in effect, and inciting labor unrest is a crime. The few unions that do exist are government-controlled. The Ministry of the Interior appoints union leaders, and plant managers often line government and company coffers with the union dues they collect, while distributing official propaganda through union channels.

Piecemeal protectionism in the United States is inadequate to stem the flood of cheap goods from such countries. China's exports to the United States increased by 191 percent between 1980 and 1984, followed by South Korea's and India's (126 percent each), Taiwan's (119 percent), Singapore's and Brazil's (108 percent each) and Japan's (83 percent). The protectionist approach also contradicts U.S. policy on the international debt crisis. Third World countries that have accumulated more than $970 billion in debt have been told by U.S. banks and government officials and by the International Monetary Fund that in order to obtain new loans to repay the old ones, they must export more and import less. That message has been forcefully sent to Brazil, Mexico, South Korea and about fifty other debt-ridden countries, but U.S. protectionism makes it impossible for them to export.

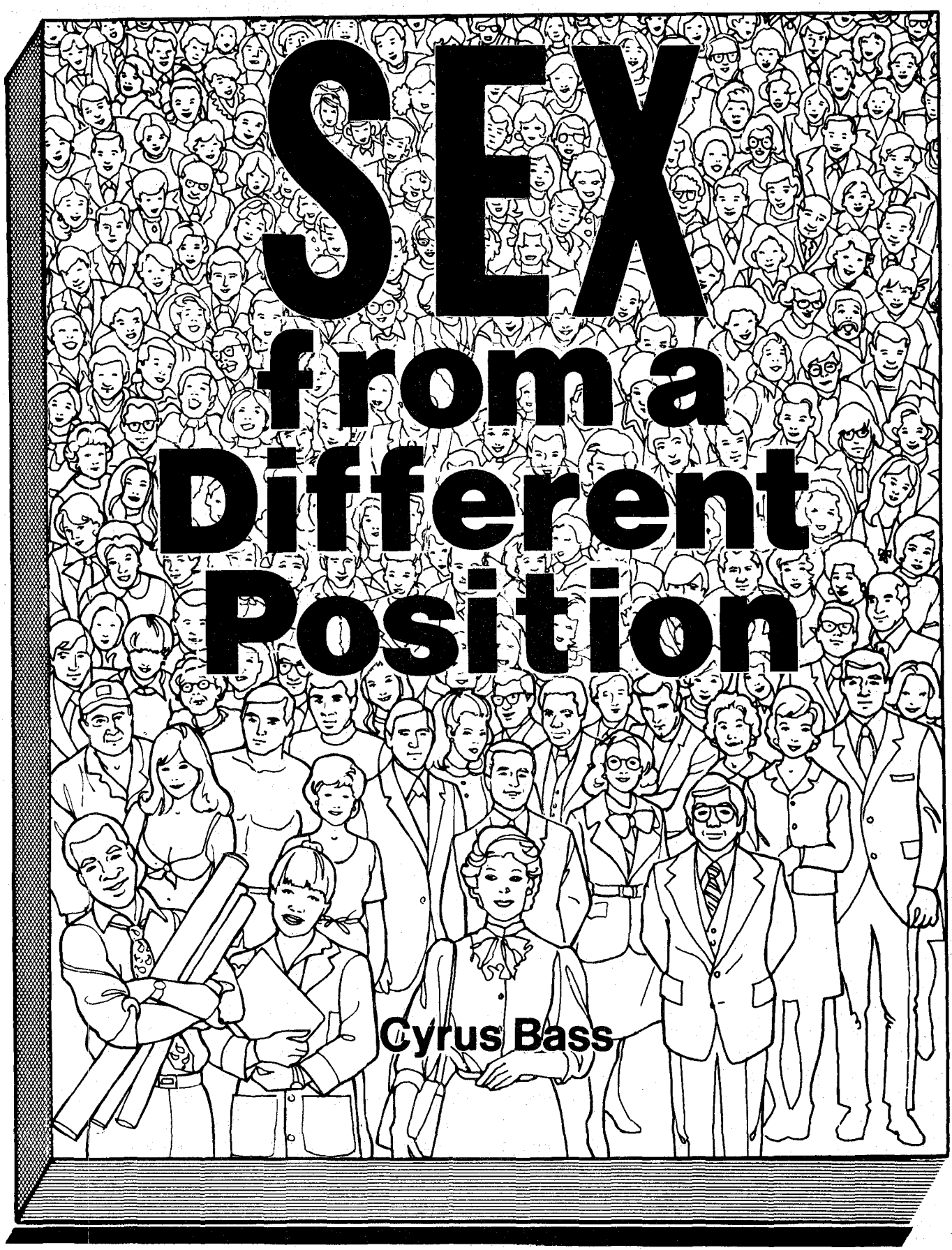
Instead of retaliatory protectionist measures, the United States badly needs trade policies that address the monumental changes in the world economy. Corporations must be limited in their ability to shift capital out of the country, and the government must provide incentives for them to move capital and labor into sectors that are capital intensive (e.g. robotics) or education intensive (e.g. software). The government must also do more to soften the blow of capital shifts on workers and communities. Americans who have lost their jobs in basic industries to foreign competition in recent years need help training for new jobs.

Finally, such policies must tackle the least talked-about unfair trade subsidy: the exploitation of workers abroad that makes possible cheaper exports to the United States. Many industries and unions in this country protest trade subsidies and the dumping of low-priced foreign goods on the American market. The same outcry should be raised against "social dumping"—competition from foreign workers whose low wages result from the denial of their basic labor rights.

In the short run, antiworker policies may benefit companies that use overseas labor to produce low-priced goods for export to developed countries. Echoing the robber barons of the nineteenth century, corporate apologists argue that people in developing countries are better off working for a dollar a day than they would be not working at all. But the exploitation of labor inhibits the development of self-reliant local economies in much of the developing world. By limiting workers' income and purchasing power, multinationals and host governments are severely restricting the growth of internal consumer markets. It is as true overseas as it is in this country that money in the pockets of working

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT

Politics From A Different Position

COMMUNISM—Part I

Communism came into being for the same reasons that Christianity came into being. Both were attempts to correct some of the inhumanities that man inflicts upon his fellow man.

During the reign of the Roman Emperor Tiberius, a Jew of Tarsus named Saul, who later changed it to Paul, was traveling to Damascus. On the way he heard stories told about a person who performed miracles. That person walked on water, made the blind see, the lame walk, the dumb talk; cured leprosy, palsy, fever, even brought the dead back to life. Some called this person the Son of man, the Son of God. Others called him the Messiah. Paul was fascinated by the stories. He was on a mission to quell the spread of these stories, but the stories persisted and got in the way of his mission. Before long Paul saw the light and instead of attempting to quell the spread of these stories began to spread them himself with a vengeance. And so through the efforts of Paul Christianity took hold and it became a world religion.

Is the Christianity of today the religion Paul envisioned? If it isn't, and it is quite clear that it isn't, which is the true Christianity, the one Paul envisioned or what it is today?

The term communism is a term of ancient origin and has its roots in religion. It is derived from the word communion, which means the sharing or holding in common with others of a community, a kind of togetherness, which is one for all and all for one. As an English word it was first used in 1382. There have been communist societies throughout history, most of them were based on religion. The communism of the early Christians was more of a voluntary sharing of private property rather than an abnegation of personal property as such. Some religious sects in Palestine, however, such as the Essenes practiced communism in the stricter sense. They required the surrender of all individual property.

After the collapse of the Roman Empire communes began to form over western and central Europe, later to become known as towns, elsewhere as boroughs, which integrated themselves as their own social, political and economic entities. The church was the pivotal controlling force in each respective community. The supreme power of the communtity resided in the bishop, with the pope being the ultimate power over all the communities. The church told the people what to think and what not to think; what to read and what not to read; what to see and what not to see; with whom to associate and with whom not to associate; when to sex and with whom, and when not to sex; included also was a long litany of more do's and don'ts. The rationale for the church's absolute authority was the belief that that authority came directly from God.

That period in history is known as the Dark Ages.

There were other systems of communes, those known as utopias. These were propounded by philosophers whose ambition it was to make this a better world, and these communes were not based on religion but on economics, the principle being the elimination of private property. All property was to belong to the whole community, where the members shared and shared according to one's needs. Some of the great communists were Plato, Thomas More, Saint-Simon, Robert Owen.

Our country was not immune from communist societies, even religious ones. One religious communist society, later to become known as the Amana Community, was established around 1842 in Buffalo, New York. The people were German and they called themselves "Inspirationists" because they believed that their leader, who could be either man or woman, is directly inspired by God. So when he or she speaks it really is God who is speaking. Their life was guided by twenty-one rules of conduct. The first was to obey God without reasoning and "through God our superiors." Other prohibitions: Don't attend dinners, weddings, feasts, "at the best there is sin"; fear men; avoid women because they are like "highly dangerous magnet and magical fire"; be sober, don't laugh. It should be obvious that as time progressed the Amana Community did not prosper.

Another communist society in our country was the Harmony Society, also religious, and the members believed that Adam was both male and female when God created him but because he disobeyed by eating of the forbidden fruit God took the female part away from him. Moral of the story? Don't have sex and God will reward man to his original dual Godlike state. This was the goal of the Harmony Society. Then there was the "Separatists" communist society, more popularly known as the "Shakers." It was the largest communist society and for a time the most successful. They were the believers in "Mother Ann," an English woman by the name of Ann Lee, born in Manchester in 1736, who according to their belief was the second appearance of Christ. She came to the United States 1773 because, according to the legend, she was instructed by divine revelation to come to America. She said that God had told her that the second Christian Church would be established in America and that America would be the land of liberty where people would be able to worship God "without hindrance or molestation." In the opinion of her followers she was not mortal. Ann Lee had never learned to read or write, which proves that education is not a prerequisite to the forming of a religion, communist or otherwise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CYRUS BASS

The Shakers believed that theirs was the only true Church. It was the church in which revelation, spiritualism, celibacy, oral confession, non-resistance, inner peace, the gift of healing, miracles, physical health, and separation from the world becomes the new heaven. The Shakers were mostly American born, with the exception, of course, of the founder.

It should be clear from the record that theoretical communism whether religious or philosophical was not a success. Then along came Karl Marx who thought that his concepts about communism when put into action would be a success, a success meaning that it would improve the life of man and society, that it would correct the injustices man commits upon his fellow man.

Karl Marx was a philosopher, a humanist philosopher. He did not like what he saw in society, especially in industrial society. He saw that the laborer did not receive the just rewards for his labor. He felt that the laborer was being exploited. Karl Marx did not like exploitation. So he came up with some ideas about how to stop exploitation. Karl Marx knew a great deal about economics but knew very little about biology and psychology. Yes, he knew what he saw and did not like what he saw and so confused the symptom for the cause.

The Soviet Union is now communist, Marx's communism. Is the communism of Karl Marx in the Soviet Union the communism Karl Marx envisioned?

Is it the function of government to tell people what to think and what not to think; what to read and what not to read; what to see; hear, write and not to see, hear, write; where to go and where not to go? Yes, if your government is a theocracy, that is a government which gets its authority from God, with the church being the surrogate of God. No, when the government derives its authority from the people it governs.

In the Soviet Union the people cannot think what they want to think, cannot write what they want to write, cannot see, hear, go according to their will or desire. In the Soviet Union the government does not derive its authority from the people. Since the members of the government do not accept the existence of a supernatural God, they cannot claim that their authority arises from the supernatural. The conclusion therefore must be that they believe that they are the gods and by making themselves the gods abrogate the communism of Karl Marx, for nowhere in the writings of Karl Marx does it say that the only rights people have are those handed down to them by the heads of government. The Soviet Union is therefore a theocracy.

(To be continued)

Sex From A Different Position

CYRUS BASS

If you find **POLITICS FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION** interesting, you will find **SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION** more interesting.

SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION by Cyrus Bass is a most unusual book unique in publishing history. The title is eisegetical. It immediately makes one think of pornography. But the book is everything *except* that. The book is about sex but it is not a sex book by any means. It is a book about human life: the way we think, the way we behave, the way we love and hate, the way we build and destroy and it explains the whys—the whys we love, hate, kill, have wars. The explanations are different from what has been written about human behavior by others. Why then the title? The author wants to demonstrate that when we hear the word sex immediately most of us think of the physical act. But the book is not about sex in the physical sense. The book is literally about sex from a different position.

The author, a practicing clinical psychologist for many years, charts an orientation on how to live in health and happiness which is fundamentally different from what we have been led to believe about sickness and health. His theories about illness in general and about cancer and schizophrenia in particular, if proven to be correct, may well revolutionize the practice of medicine. Dr. Bass is not an eclectic, not a traditionalist. The book is not a compendium of what experts say. There are no footnotes. His writing on medicine, psychology, religion, politics, law, must be read.

The adjacent article which is *not* part of the book illustrates the style and scope of his writings.

We urge you to order SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION without delay. The book is a large (8½ x 11), soft cover volume of 310 pages, set in ITC Bookman type which is especially easy on the eyes, but the text is most challenging to the mind. The author chose the type style. In addition to being a clinical psychologist, he is also an eye doctor as well as a specialist in forensic and antitrust law, having received his law degree in 1957. The price of the book is $11.00, plus $1.50 postage and handling for each copy.

PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATES, INC.
3601 West Devon Avenue, Suite 108
Chicago, Illinois 60659

I enclose ☐ check ☐ Money Order in the amount of $ _____

Please rush _____ copy (copies) of

SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION by Cyrus Bass.

Name _____
(Please Print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 4 weeks for delivery.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people creates demand for goods and services which, in turn, creates jobs. Denying labor rights in developing countries perpetuates poverty and produces social unrest.

Some encouraging steps are being taken by the U.S. government. The Trade and Tariff Act of 1984, pushed by a coalition of human rights and union activists called the International Labor Rights Working Group, stipulates that a country's duty-free access to the American marketplace will depend on its respect for basic labor rights. The law requires the State Department, in consultation with the Labor Department, to report annually on the "labor rights" situation in every country. Specifically, do they permit freedom of association and collective bargaining, prohibit forced labor, set a minimum age of employment and maintain acceptable standards for wages, work hours and occupational safety and health? Finally, the law allows any person or organization to bring evidence of labor abuses to the attention of the U.S. government. Several human rights groups and trade unions have already submitted reports challenging the continuation of trade preferences for South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Chile, Haiti, Zaire and other countries.

Last fall, despite vigorous opposition from both the Reagan Administration and multinational corporations, Congress enacted a law that prohibits the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a government agency, from issuing business risk insurance to U.S. multinationals for projects in countries that do not grant their workers internationally recognized rights. Public hearings before the OPIC board of directors will be held each year to receive formal requests to curtail OPIC operations in specific countries where there is evidence of labor rights violations. And on March 13 the Fair Trade and Economic Justice Act of 1986 was introduced in Congress by Representative Don Pease and twelve of his colleagues. It is designed to treat as an unfair trade practice the competitive advantage in international trade that some countries derive from the systematic denial of workers' rights. Supporters of this legislation point out that to promote fair competition current rules in world trade outlaw capital subsidies and dumping, but they condone competition at any cost as far as workers are concerned.

Such legislation could promote a trade policy that combines the protectionists' concern for economic justice at home with the advancement of workers rights and development overseas. Support for this approach can be expected from communities in the American Rust Belt, human rights groups and development and peace organizations. Some labor unions, increasingly aware that protectionism's protections are short-term at best, are adding their weight. Sixteen of them, along with the A.F.L.-C.I.O., were among the co-sponsors of a conference highlighting this approach earlier this month. Another ready potential group of backers consists of the owners of small domestic firms producing everything from apparel to castings. At this stage, unions, church groups, human rights organizations and others must put pressure on the Reagan Administration to comply with the new legislation and on Congress to extend it to new realms.

A trade policy that promotes economic justice at home and abroad through an aggressive campaign to extend basic labor rights in countries that challenge the United States in the global economy would simultaneously increase the security of American workers and make the U.S. economy more competitive. In their approach to the trade dilemmas of the 1980s, Americans should be guided by the motto the Knights of Labor adopted one hundred years ago: "An injury to one is of concern to us all." □

Philadelphia

(*Continued from Front Cover*)

of three counts each of aggravated assault and recklessly endangering another person—much more serious charges. Even public defender Daniel Stevenson, who acted as Ramona's legal assistant throughout the trial, said he was "only a little disappointed." Assistant District Attorney Joseph McGill, the prosecutor, called the verdict "a compromise . . . there were no winners." One of the jurors said, "I think we were trying to make a statement in the decision that both parties were wrong, MOVE and the city. This whole thing could have been handled better." Ramona said, "Long live John Africa! Down with this rotten-ass system!"

John Africa is the founder of MOVE, whose members object to being called a back-to-nature group, saying we are all in nature anyway, no matter how we live. They do believe that our society is sick because of its reliance on artifice and technology, so MOVE is against machinery, cooked food, education, utility charges, clothing and soap. MOVE members wash with a collection of herbs and lots of garlic. They don't smell of sweat—more like a highly spiced meal, which many people find equally repulsive. Because they consider animals important, they adopt dozens of stray dogs. For the same reason, they do not kill rats but feed them. Neighbors were appalled.

The city of Philadelphia, under the administrations of both Frank Rizzo and Wilson Goode, reacted at first by ignoring the problem. MOVE refused to pay bills or taxes, but the city never turned off its gas and water. From time to time, suddenly goaded into action for no apparent reason, the city would surround the house and the whole neighborhood with hundreds of heavily armed cops. Inevitably, as the newspapers always put it, "shooting broke out." Although there have been small MOVE settlements in other cities, there has never been violence in those places. In Philadelphia twelve people (one of them a police officer, killed in a 1978 fire fight) have died so far over the issue of sloppy housekeeping.

In the past, MOVE trials have quickly turned into circuses. Fast-talking, speechifying, signifying MOVE members took turns baiting judges who seemed chosen for their irascibility, round red faces, ward-heeler cunning and comic ability to splutter. The laughs were big ones; the sentences

Jim Quinn, a journalist who lives in Philadelphia, writes The Nation*'s "Lingo" column.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

long. After the 1978 confrontation, nine MOVE members got thirty to one hundred years each.

But Ramona had worked as a paralegal and even took a course in law before joining MOVE and dropping out (MOVE does not believe in law, or law schools, or reading and writing). Ramona's defense was articulate, reasoned, political in MOVE terms and very, very quiet. The city did its part too. Common Pleas Court Judge Michael Stiles is young, dapper, even elegant; he was not only calm, he was unfailingly polite. And careful to be fair. When prosecutor McGill objected that Ramona was making speeches or that she was playing on the emotions of the jury by wearing short-sleeved shirts, which revealed the horrible scars on her arms from the fire, Stiles overruled him. When Ramona, like all MOVE members, refused to rise when the judge entered the court, Stiles ignored it.

The result was an old-fashioned political trial, in one of City Hall's big old-fashioned Victorian courtrooms. The ceiling is high, the American flag immense; the rickrack on the walls has been picked out with gilt so recently that it still shines, even though it is already peeling. The room was full of the trial's steady customers: white retirees, white teen-age MOVE buffs who cut school to attend, black MOVE sympathizers in dreadlocks, reporters, cops, plainclothes cops. Everybody I talked to was on Ramona's side. Nobody thought she would win. "Long Live John Africa!" said Ramona as she walked into the courtroom, an exclamation almost as quiet as it was intense. Her luxuriant black dreadlocks hung down thickly around her face, framing it like dark falling water. The scars on her arms were clearly visible even from the back row; they shone in the yellow light of the courtroom like wet stains.

Ramona's defense was an attack—long, logical, but necessarily disjointed—on the city of Philadelphia. The city said that MOVE members refused to leave the house and used their own children as hostages. Ramona said they were afraid to come out or to let their children out because of the history of harassment and violence by the police. The city said MOVE was making life intolerable by using the bullhorn all hours of the day and night. Ramona said that was the only way to get the city to release the nine MOVE members serving long prison terms.

Ramona tried to call the cop who had dropped the bomb and the cop who had made it. While the jury was out of the courtroom, both took the Fifth Amendment. Stiles ruled initially that the jury could not be told this. He reckoned without Ramona, who then called Sue Africa, currently a prisoner. On the stand Sue Africa complained, "The police shoot at MOVE because MOVE won't answer a legal summons; now we come to trial, and the police won't answer a legal summons." Stiles warned her this could not be mentioned in the courtroom. Sue: "Are you saying the rulings of this court are in conflict with the truth?"

Ramona to Stiles: "You sit up there and try to give people the impression you're trying to be fair. When are you going to wake up and take a position? The whole city of Philadelphia is trying to wash the blood of MOVE people off their hands and they're using you as the water."

Sue interrupted to give Stiles another little lecture on the importance of truth, and Stiles, red-faced for the only time in the trial, silenced everyone. So the jury had to be told that the cops had pleaded the Fifth.

Ramona called Mayor Goode to the stand. The partisan crowd crowed with delight. "I'm going to count how many times he says, 'in fact,'" said one teen-ager. "He always does it." "I just want to see the fireworks," said a white woman, widowed and retired, "I'm just here for the fun to start." But there were no fireworks.

"Are you a liar?" was Ramona's first question. Goode waited patiently until it was ruled out of order. What a question to put to the Mayor of a major American city. Goode's defense was a ready one. He had not been at the confrontation. He had relied on those who were: his (now ex-) police commissioner, his (also ex-) managing director and his fire commissioner (still holding on to office). Goode had authorized the use of what had been described to him as an entry device. "In fact, if anyone had said, 'I'm going to drop a bomb on the house,' I would have said no." But the buck stops somewhere else. "Every plan that came to me was geared towards the safety of those inside the house," he said. The crowd was disappointed. Goode kept slipping away. "It was my understanding," he kept saying, "It was my clear understanding . . . " Ramona asked if the managing director had told Goode there would be explosives in the bomb, or entry device. "Not to my knowledge. I don't have a recollection," said the Mayor, who talked on about placing confidence in subordinates whose job, in fact, it was to do the job. Among the many lawyers watching, a local judge was impressed by Ramona's "precise, controlled questions." But he implied she wasn't ruthless enough: "You don't call somebody unless they can do you some good." Ramona was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

satisfied; she didn't want to be ruthless, she just wanted to demonstrate that the confrontation got out of control. She did that well.

With ex-Commissioner Sambor it was different. Ramona clearly regarded him as the enemy, and Sambor responded like a noncooperative prisoner of war—ramrod straight, arms folded defiantly, clipped sentences. Torture me, you'll get nothing, his whole body said. Does Sambor consider a 50-caliber machine gun part of normal police artillery? Sambor: "I don't know." Sambor's defense, too, was a ready one. The bomb should have been an entry device. Sambor had asked that it be made of Tovex, which he believed (on slim evidence) would cause little damage. The cop who had made the bomb had unaccountably added C-4, a more powerful explosive. Not Sambor's fault. The buck stops somewhere else. But the fire, Ramona pursued, the fire burned out of control. Goode had testified that he finally had to issue an order to put out the fire. Did Sambor follow the order? "I did not follow the order. I was not the fire commissioner." Did he tell the fire commissioner? "The fire commissioner was aware of the order." Was the commissioner aware it was not followed? Sambor, arms crossed in front of him, bolt upright, relaxed for a little joke: "As a result of the fire having destroyed all the homes in the area, yes, I was aware that it was not put out."

Delbert Africa was then called to the stand. The jury was shown photographs of Delbert after MOVE surrendered in 1978—dragged by the hair, beaten with a police helmet, kicked in the groin. The jurors knew the story; a cameraman had captured the whole thing for local television. The officers, of course, were later tried for brutality. And as Delbert pointed out, "The judge [Common Pleas Judge Stanley Kubacki] took it out of the hands of the jury. They wasn't acquitted; they was let go." All charges were dismissed. "Somebody had to do it," said Kubacki at the time. Ramona thought this was important to her contention that the city was out to destroy MOVE.

In her summation, Ramona was quiet and reasonable: The city says MOVE used children as a shield. But the children ran in the park every day at the same time; the city made no effort to take them away. MOVE members ran in the park; the city made no effort to arrest them outside the house. It's true that MOVE used a bullhorn, but that's because there was no way even to open discussions with the city regarding the long sentences given to MOVE members in 1978. The city says everything it did was legal. But the crucifixion of Jesus was legal, slavery was legal, Nazi Germany made the Holocaust legal. "John Africa teaches us, legal is legal, but that's all it is," said Ramona quietly. "Right is right."

It almost worked. The jury of seven men and five women (seven white and five black) convicted Ramona on relatively minor charges. She faces seven to fourteen years in jail. The retired woman who told me that she had come out of curiosity, to see the fireworks, was distressed. "She was too easy on Goode." The woman's eyes filled with tears. "She let him get away with—oh, you know—with that shit they always get away with."

She could be right. But Wilson Goode is the kind of bureaucrat whose whole life has been spent building an unshakable image of condescending service, like the kind of waiter who manages to insult you with politeness. The jury got a good picture of that from Novella Williams, a local black activist, who managed to talk to Goode on the telephone minutes before the shooting started. Williams testified that she had talked to MOVE members who were convinced that "the cops are going to come in here and kill us." She had pleaded with Goode, Williams said, begging for just a little more time. According to Williams the conversation ended like this:

Goode: "The best experts in the country are on the scene. . . . If I don't go in now I will appear irresponsible."

Williams: "There are babies inside! You can't do it! Don't do it!"

Goode: "I thank you for your call. I really appreciate your call."

Judge Stiles is scheduled to sentence Ramona on April 14; she is being held on $200,000 bail. "That verdict didn't surprise me," said Ramona. "And it didn't not surprise me. If this rotten-ass system was fair, I wouldn't be here." □

Socialist Scholars Conference

REBELLION, RESISTANCE, REVOLT

April 18, 19 & 20, 1986

Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY
199 Chambers Street (near Trade Center), New York City

The usual suspects and hundreds more...

- Stanley Aronowitz
- Bogdan Denitch
- Barbara Ehrenreich
- Paul Sweezy
- Michael Harrington
- Barbara Epstein
- Paulette Pierce
- Frances Fox Piven
- Daniel Singer

Registration: Make checks payable to "Social Scholars Conference" and mail to: R.L. Norman, Jr., CUNY Democratic Socialists Club, Rm. 901, 33 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036.
Preregistration: $17.50 / $10 (1 day) / $10 (student/low income)
Regular Registration: $25.00 / $12.50 (1 day) / $12.50 (student/low income) NT

U.S.S.R.-MONGOLIA-CHINA

AROUND THE WORLD
2 PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TOURS®
28 DAYS $3,495
JULY 11 to AUGUST 7 and JULY 16 to AUGUST 12

NEW YORK-MOSCOW-LENINGRAD-TASHKENT
IRKUTSK-MONGOLIA-PEKING-SHANGHAI
GUELIN-HONG KONG-SAN FRANCISCO

- TRANSPORTATION AND TRANSFERS INCLUDED
- FIRST CLASS HOTELS • 3 MEALS DAILY
- SIGHTSEEING-EXCURSIONS-THEATERS
- FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE MEETINGS
- LIMITED MEMBERSHIP IN EACH GROUP

WRITE OR PHONE
PROGRESSIVE WORLD TOURS
4003 ISLEWOOD DRIVE
DEERFIELD BEACH, FL. 33442
(305) 427-4779 TELEX 441536

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Ambassadorial Fiction

TERRENCE RAFFERTY

THE REAL LIFE OF ALEJANDRO MAYTA. *By Mario Vargas Llosa. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 310 pp. $16.95.*

If Mario Vargas Llosa really has "replaced Gabriel García Márquez as the South American novelist for gringos to catch up on," as John Updike observed last month in *The New Yorker*, his novels are probably the least of the reasons—ranking somewhere behind his looks (rugged but sensitive like, say, Omar Sharif), his politics (a "thoughtful" conservatism that suggests Naipaul's without the redeeming cold rage) and his apparent importance in the international community (he was president of PEN in the late 1970s, and hardly a day of the recent congress in New York passed without a quote from him). Of his seven novels, only one—the glittering modernist entertainment *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter*—has been much read in this country. His new fiction, *The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta*, has a good chance to become his second North American hit: it is, along with *Aunt Julia* and the slight, funny *Captain Pantoja and the Special Service*, one of Vargas Llosa's most readable books, and also one of his shortest. (Readers trying to catch up on the esteemed writer's earlier work will find their resolve sternly tested by daunting monuments like *Conversation in the Cathedral* and exhausting, labyrinthine theme parks like *The War at the End of the World*.) In a way, this novel about an obscure Peruvian revolutionary is a perfect introduction to Vargas Llosa, at least in his current public incarnation: despite its air of political seriousness, *Alejandro Mayta* is a smooth, clever, wholly equivocal routine—an ambassadorial performance.

Vargas Llosa has never been shy about taking on big themes, or about engineering formal structures elaborate enough to contain all of Latin American history and culture: he seems to want to explain everything, including his own role as a writer. In *Alejandro Mayta*, he's created a character who's meant to be a representative revolutionary of Castro's generation and a setting that's a stylized version of present-day Lima, overrun with garbage and caught in a crossfire between Cuban-backed terrorists and the American military. The story is told in a series of *Citizen Kane*–like flashbacks, as an unnamed novelist tries to reconstruct the "truth" of Mayta's life from the testimony of those who knew him. This story and this structure, taken together, allow Vargas Llosa to do several things at once: to turn Mayta, who is shown here leading a pathetic insurrection in the Peruvian mountains a year before the Cuban revolution, into a symbol of the old Latin American left, a parodic version of Fidel; to reflect, from the distance of thirty years, on the motives and the ultimate consequences of that first wave of revolution; to introduce, as witnesses, a set of characters who both embody the changes in society and illustrate the subjectivity of memory; and to use the form of an investigation to add an air of mystery and heavy consequence to what's essentially a thin, schematic anecdote.

The novel is absorbing enough for most of its length. The narrator keeps digging into Mayta's past, filling in details, and we feel we're getting somewhere. The portrait of Mayta being revealed to us, slowly, has no psychological depth or historical originality—the revolutionary is a lapsed Catholic whose religious fervor has been replaced by political activism, a middle-aged Trotskyite whose frustration after years of pamphleteering and factional infighting results, finally, in a romantic yearing for violent revolt, and so on—but the rhetoric of the investigative form pulls us along. We want to know what the "truth" will turn out to be, how the argument will resolve itself: will the meaning of Mayta's "real life" somehow transcend the clichés, will there be a final witness who'll suddenly throw a different light on this portrait, make us see things we'd never seen there before? All works that arrange themselves explicitly as a search for historical truth create this sort of expectation (as *Citizen Kane* demonstrates), even if the questions are posed in *Reader's Digest*–like terms—"Alejandro Mayta, Visionary or Fool?" This isn't an easy expectation to satisfy: even *Kane* doesn't, quite, and Warren Beatty's *Reds*, which may have been the more direct inspiration for *Alejandro Mayta*, doesn't come close. We realize, as readers or spectators, that the author's conclusions *won't* explain it all, that we'll still have to evaluate, to test his responses against our own—but we want, at least, to be given a statement to argue with. Vargas Llosa ends the next-to-last chapter of *Alejandro Mayta* with these lines: "That soft music and the beautiful, starry night sky of Jauja suggest a peaceful land and happy, tranquil people. They lie, because all fictions are lies." Uh-oh.

In the final chapter, the narrator has at last tracked down Mayta, now nearly seventy, and as he asks the ex-revolutionary to confirm or correct the version of his life we've been reading, the character's reality evaporates. Challenged to resolve some of the contradictions in the previous accounts, Mayta responds: "I've forgotten lots of things, and I'm mixed up about lots of others. I'd really like to help you out and tell you about it. But the problem is that I don't know all that happened or even how it happened. It's a long time ago, don't forget." After all that, he *forgot*? (Note for a possible movie: Steve Martin as Mayta.) Furthermore, the narrator reveals that a prominent feature in his portrait of Mayta—his homosexuality—is pure invention. So we've been informed, pedantically, that there's no real Mayta in the sense that this narrative has led us to believe. He's just a blank screen for our projections: whether the real Mayta is a noble, confused idealist or simply a petty crook is unimportant, because all that matters is what we—that is, interpreters like Vargas Llosa's narrator—make of him.

The effect of this stripping-off-the-layers-of-illusion act is to clear the stage of characters and ideas and reveal the real star of the show—the illusionist himself. If everything is fiction and the novelist's reality is as good as any other, why not? Vargas Llosa might like us to believe that he's being ironic about his own activity in re-creating Mayta's life. But this is an awfully disingenuous kind of irony: even though the narrator has admitted that he's a little unreliable, his consciousness now dominates the novel, and, with Mayta reduced to an imaginative construct, there's no reality left to

Terrence Rafferty writes a fiction column for The Nation.

ESU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

compare it with. In the same year (1984) of *Alejandro Mayta's* original publication in Spanish, Vargas Llosa wrote an essay called "Is Fiction the Art of Lying?" in which he said: "Every good novel tells the truth and every bad novel lies. For a novel to 'tell the truth' means to make the reader experience an illusion, and 'to lie' means to be unable to accomplish that trickery. The novel, thus, is an amoral genre, or rather, its ethic is *sui generis*, one in which truth and falsehood are exclusively esthetic concepts." And so we won't think that novelists use their godlike powers capriciously, he elaborates: "When religious culture enters into crisis, life seems divested of any binding schemes, dogma and precepts and turns into chaos. That is the optimum moment for fiction. Its artificial orders offer refuge, security and the free release of those appetites and fears that real life incites and cannot gratify or exorcise. Fiction is a temporary substitute for life. . . . Emerging from one's own self, being another, even in illusion, is a way of being less a slave and experiencing the risks of freedom." What noble deceivers, these novelists! They give us something to believe in; they lie to make us free.

Vargas Llosa's work these days—this novel, the "Art of Lying" essay, his *New York Times Magazine* pieces on Nicaragua and "My Son the Rastafarian"—has the pompous, elevated tone of a man who's writing as a spokesman. Even in his own terms, he doesn't lie like a novelist anymore: he lies like a diplomat, in a glib, self-congratulatory, of-course-you-and-I-know-what-this-is-really-all-about way. Perhaps, at the end of *The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta*, Vargas Llosa feels that his laborious investigation of a single character has given us more of the illusion of "being another" than is really good for us: we might be tempted to draw conclusions, to believe the author too much. (If so, he overestimates the danger.) Or maybe, as seems more likely, he simply decided that Mayta isn't the other he wants us to have the illusion of being—*he* is.

The author is exceptionally coy, in this novel as in some of his others, about his characters' relationship to reality: we can't be certain that the famous Peruvian novelist reconstructing Mayta's life is actually Vargas Llosa, nor that the obscure revolutionary he calls Mayta is based on any historical personage. This isn't all that crucial a question in the case of the narrator: his consciousness survives until the end of the novel, he gets the last word, he can take care of himself. But we do want to know whether a real Mayta existed or not, so we can judge the ethics (as well as the esthetics) of how he's been used here. Vargas Llosa very deliberately builds up the significance of this man's life, then just as pointedly wipes it all out—surely it matters whether he's done this to a human being or a mere invention. The scary thing is that it may not matter to Vargas Llosa. For all the impressive architecture of his earlier novels, none of them demonstrated an especially impressive talent for character. (The most convincing, most lovingly understood person in all his work is the young writer called Marito, and sometimes Varguitas, in *Aunt Julia*.) But none of these novels actively denied the reality of other people, the way *Mayta* does or the way the recent, unforgivable article on his 16-year old son's flirtation with Rastafarianism does. In that piece, Vargas Llosa describes his reaction to his son's appearance by saying, "it wouldn't have been clear to most people that he was actually human," and after several pages of grilling by the father/interrogator, Vargas Llosa still doesn't find any recognizable human impulse in his son's behavior. As in *Mayta*, what the writer doesn't understand can be dismissed as unreal, as if the opacity of a teen-ager's motives or an old man's memories were a direct affront to him, a license to objectify them as he wishes, novelistically, then let them blow away like the pages of a manuscript.

In "My Son the Rastafarian," Vargas Llosa's motives are at least as obscure as his son's or Alejandro Mayta's. What possible reason could he have for recording in print this disturbing phase of his son's adolescence, fixing him forever in our minds as a priggish, possibly dangerous, young fanatic and making him stand for all the evils of moral absolutism? This, from a man who extols the virtue of "being another," "emerging from one's own self": even if he doesn't understand every twist and turn of his son's mind,

DOUBLE ELEGY

This one's for the living.

Have you noticed
how the Northern Lights
seem to quiver more than ever?
That you recall the flash
of comet-tail, not the satellite
itself. That when the mirror
retrieves your glance, you're
already gazing somewhere else.

Perhaps the hammock's not
yet flooded with maple leaves
from the dying tree; perhaps
your growing list of tasks
is almost worth accomplishing.

Then why save up your anger
for the patch of lawn your son
forgot to mow? He's busy this fall
courting the usual disasters
lust makes fun. You almost recall
your first girl's blouse, the shine,
like frost, on her pearl buttons.

Why not lie back and listen then
to the owl's first claims on evening?
Gather your loved ones on the porch
and praise the possum hanging
by his tail on the bare tree limb
before it breaks into history.

Ira Sadoff

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he should in any event be able to figure out that the boy would feel humiliated by his father's article. He ends by reporting, perfunctorily, that his son gave up Rastafarianism and "Soon he'll be 18." In another fifteen or twenty years Mario Vargas Llosa will be as old as the feeble Mayta of the last chapter, and there may still be some unanswered questions: was he a serious novelist—a great explainer—or just a smooth-talking candidate for something (Latin American writer most likely to succeed García Márquez)? Perhaps by then, even he will have forgotten what he was up to. Right now, the image of the ambitious, diligent, searching (if sometime ponderous) Vargas Llosa of the 1960s and 1970s is fading fast. He's getting less real all the time. □

Pride of Place

WENDY GIMBEL

OUTSIDE THE MAGIC CIRCLE: The Autobiography of Virginia Foster Durr. *Edited by Hollinger F. Barnard. Foreword by Studs Terkel. University of Alabama Press. 360 pp. $24.50.*

In the Alabama summer of 1910, Virginia Foster turned seven years old. Her mother gave her two birthday parties. There was a barbeque for black children in the back yard, and later in the day, on the front lawn, there was a proper party for white children. At the barbecue, Virginia's cousin Elizabeth refused to eat the chicken. She wouldn't touch anything handed her by a "nigger." Virginia told Elizabeth to go to hell and was sent to bed for being bad. At the afternoon party, Virginia was furious because all the white children were strangers. She threw a tantrum, bashed in the cake and was put to bed again. Her Aunt May said she was the worst child she had ever known. That may well have been the case. Certainly racial prejudice didn't come naturally to her.

In the next decade, Virginia got the hang of it. By the time she went off to college at Wellesley, segregation made perfect sense. On the first night of her sophomore year, finding herself seated next to a black girl, she promptly left the table. Told by the house counselor that she had to return or withdraw from the college, Virginia reluctantly gave in. The incident had an impact. It had never occurred to her that some of her attitudes might be considered foolish by other people.

After she married Clifford Durr and moved to Washington, Virginia received the first significant challenges to her beliefs. *Outside the Magic Circle* explores her rejection of the myth of white supremacy even as she continues to embrace the South that created it. Her story emerges from interviews she gave for oral history projects at Columbia University and the University of North Carolina. While Hollinger Barnard has edited the transcripts with skill, the oral format of the book makes it interesting chiefly for the details of her life, rather than as an example of the craft of autobiography.

The book has the quality of a yarn spun out for a listener over many a summer afternoon. The humor and common sense that characterize Virginia are distilled into the voice that narrates. When she spins a tale, she does it in a manner that engages, that often seduces. What unifies the early stories is her longing for the aristocratic past. A great sigh can be heard in the initial pages, a desire for the white-pillared plantation house and the black servants in starched white. Slaves with Faulknerian names like Ole Mose hid the family silver during the Civil War. Virginia's grandfather acquired a plantation of some 35,000 acres and a house that resembled Tara. His wife, Miss Ginny, never had to do anything except be charming and ride to town in a carriage lined with red satin. A black coachman named Washington who wore a high silk hat accompanied her.

As Virginia grew up, the Fosters, like many Southerners, slid into genteel poverty. But the aristocratic ideal still cast its spell. Virginia attended Ku Klux Klan parades to cheer the grand defenders of pure white Southern womanhood. She couldn't imagine why their shoes looked old and miserable beneath their robes. When the boll weevil ate through the sparse plantation profits, there was no money for Virginia to go back to Wellesley. But there was money

Wendy Gimbel is a writer and critic who lives in New York City.

DISSATISFACTION GUARANTEED OR YOUR MONEY BACK.

At *The Nation*, we don't expect you to be dissatisfied with our magazine. Just with what it covers:

Public relations games that take priority over disarmament. Affronts to your intelligence by government spokespersons. Assaults on our values and freedoms by the Falwells of the world.

You'll get stirred up by the likes of Alexander Cockburn, Penny Lernoux and Stephen F. Cohen.

Then to agitate you even more, *The Nation* offers writing on the arts of such quality and style that it, too, gives you a lot to think about.

Of course, some people don't mind getting this worked up. If you're one of them, you may want to subscribe by filling out the coupon.

But be forewarned. Our guarantee is different from that of most magazines.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES! I'M READY TO BE DISSATISFIED. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of a full 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please Print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

□ Double my savings. Send me a full year (47 issues) for $28.
□ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
□ Please bill me later.

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8612

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for a lavish wedding, to which 1,500 guests were invited. After all, she was marrying Clifford Durr, a young Southern lawyer whom everybody could "place." In the South, she says repeatedly, you're nobody unless you can be placed.

After a few years, the Durrs moved to Washington, where Clifford got a job with the Roosevelt Administration. Children were born; new friends were made. The myths of childhood dissolved as Virginia's world changed and enlarged. Names like John L. Lewis and Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary McLeod Bethune and Bob La Follette, appear on every page. Virginia's Washington was a court of moral aristocrats listening to the music of reform. Its nobles lobbied against Franco and Hitler. They supported intervention in Europe and integration in the South. Virginia devoted hours to the abolition of the poll tax. Sometimes she wondered whether she resembled Dickens's hapless Mrs. Jellaby, who ignores her children to concentrate on a remote African project. But for the most part, she felt the certainty of the patrician in a fixed circle: "We had a sense—which I still have—that we owned the country. There may be things that make me mad and that I want to change, but it's my country."

Virginia appears to have stopped being a white supremacist because she was able to place herself among people who found racism contemptible. Old mythologies, she tells us, shattered in the light of reason. In explanation of this transformation, the narrative concentrates on the surface texture of her life. The changes in her inner world remain hidden. She gives us neither the dialectic nor the moment of conversion. In closing off that private part of herself, she sometimes allows her self-portrait to be seen only as a silhouette.

The Durrs returned to the South in 1951. Clifford opened a private practice in Montgomery, and Virginia worked as his secretary. The country was convulsed by the anti-Communist hysteria of the McCarthy era. Virginia was subpoenaed by the Eastland committee. The chief witness, appropriately named Mr. Crouch, had the quality of Vice in a morality play. Eleanor Roosevelt, he testified, passed Cabinet secrets to Virginia, who in turn gave them to the Communists. The madness of McCarthyism returns in the book's description of a Congressional committee seriously considering the testimony of a pathological liar. The hearing finally fell apart but not before Clifford collapsed from the strain. Describing the pressure, Virginia's voice is the familiar one of the no-nonsense Southern lady. She hasn't a confessional vocabulary. Her resistance to self-analysis is not only generational but temperamental. In explaining Senator James Eastland, she simply places him for us. Why, he's from the hills and just as "common as pig tracks."

The civil rights movement gathered momentum with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954. Virginia and Clifford Durr provided legal counsel for blacks; they supported the Freedom Riders and the Voting Rights Act. They kept at it—in her words—just getting the next thing done. The children confessed that they would have preferred it if their mother had stayed home to make brownies. But, as Virginia puts it, what good were brownies in a world that tolerated poverty and denied people the right to vote.

Perhaps the strongest impression one takes away from the story of Virginia Foster Durr is of her conflict—the constant skirmishing between her inherited desire to be a Southern aristocrat and her acquired devotion to the role of political activist. She is a woman whose dedication to civil rights cannot be extricated from her allegiance to traditional class structures. Her triumph is that despite the ambivalence, she made the commitment and chose to pay the price. □

Shielding Greed

CYNTHIA W. COOKE

AT ANY COST: Corporate Greed, Women, and the Dalkon Shield. *By Morton Mintz. Pantheon. 295 pp. $17.95.*

NIGHTMARE: Women and the Dalkon Shield. *By Susan Perry and Jim Dawson. Macmillan. 224 pp. $16.95.*

LORD'S JUSTICE. *By Sheldon Engelmayer and Robert Waxman. Anchor. 312 pp. $17.95.*

G. D. Searle & Company recently announced that it will no longer market its IUDs—the Cu-7 and the Tatum-T—in the United States. The company found that the cost of defending litigation and the difficulty of finding a product liability underwriter made marketing IUDs in the United States unprofitable. For similar reasons, Ortho Pharmaceutical Corporation decided to remove its Lippes Loops from circulation several months ago. That leaves only the Progestasert with its high risk of ectopic pregnancy, and we can only hope that that device will soon exit as well. In short, the intrauterine device has gone, and as a physician, I, for one, am glad.

Cynthia W. Cooke is an assistant clinical professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Pennsylvania and the author, with Susan Dworkin, of The Ms. Guide to a Woman's Health *(Doubleday).*

The exposés of the A.H. Robins Company, manufacturer of the Dalkon Shield, in these three books undoubtedly contributed to the decisions of Searle and Ortho, both of which are saintly compared to Robins; but let's not feel sorry for them. Countless women have also been injured by their devices.

The saga of the Dalkon Shield set forth here is almost incredible. It is a story of corporate greed, of cover-up, of fraud and above all of total disregard for human suffering on the part of drug companies. Perhaps most important, it is a story of how these companies can withhold vital information from doctors and their patients.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Hugh Davis, a physician affiliated with the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, developed a new IUD, the Dalkon Shield, which he and his associates sold to Robins. By successfully riding the crest of anti-pill hysteria they were able to make this the most popular IUD of its time. In testing the device, Davis conducted only one study, published in 1970 in the prestigious *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*. The study was, as we know now, poorly conducted, and reported low pregnancy rates which Robins already knew to be inaccurate. Furthermore, the article was not subjected to the *Journal*'s customary peer review. On the basis of this article, Robins launched an intensive advertising campaign pitched at both physicians and consumers.

Early in the manufacturing process,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

copper sulfate was secretly added to the plastic shield as an active spermicidal ingredient. Had that fact been made public, the Food and Drug Administration would have required the company to do extensive, controlled studies to prove the safety and efficacy of the device. Searle's Cu-7 was being subjected to just such studies at the time. Robins took advantage of the fact that Congress had not yet given the F.D.A. regulatory power over medical devices without active ingredients. (In fact, it was not until 1976 that any medical device, such as a pacemaker or an artificial joint, came under Federal regulation.)

Almost immediately after the Dalkon Shield hit the market there were reports of high failure rates and severe pelvic infection, but the company was able to cover these up. By 1974, the F.D.A. was sufficiently alarmed by deaths from severe infection during pregnancy due to Dalkon Shield failures that it asked Robins to halt sales and notify doctors to stop inserting the shields. But it was not until 1980, after thousands more injuries to women's reproductive organs and many more deaths, that doctors were informed that all devices then in use should be removed. Incredibly, another four years went by before a television campaign was launched to reach the women who were still using the Dalkon Shield. Only at this point did Robins agree to pay for the removals, and it did so only after Federal Court Judge Miles Lord of Minneapolis seized company records and lectured the corporate officers on the immorality of their behavior.

The company has declared bankruptcy to avoid paying huge monetary awards to injured women. It is significant that in many, if not most, Dalkon Shield cases, juries have awarded substantial amounts in punitive damages because of the company's cover-up of relevant data. Punitive damages are relatively uncommon in malpractice cases because to be awarded them the plaintiff must prove deliberate intent to harm, or that information about possible harm was deliberately withheld. That is so clear in the Robins suit that one wonders whether this company should be allowed to reorganize and continue operations at all. I have begun my boycott of Robins products. (Any woman who knows or thinks she has been injured by the Dalkon Shield should write immediately to Dalkon Shield, P.O. Box 444, Rich-

Yes, demand is soaring... Yes, the rush is on... but if you act fast—

YOU CAN VISIT THE SOVIET UNION IN 1986—WE HAVE THE SPACE!

In 1985, Anniversary Tours almost *doubled* its 1984 passenger traffic. And ever since the Geneva summit, we've seen an extraordinary *new* surge of interest in travel to the Soviet Union—it seems that everyone wants to go!

Perhaps many are curious about what life is really like in a modern socialist society. Maybe it's the new political climate, with people taking seriously what Mr. Gorbachev said about "learning the art of living together in a nuclear age." Part of that learning process is seeing the USSR *for yourself*.

The tremendous upsurge in travel to the Soviet Union took many by surprise. But we saw it coming. We acted fast to reserve a major allotment of air and hotel space—*and we're ready for you!*

In 1986, we're offering many exciting tours to dozens of cities all across the USSR, from its western borders to the Soviet Far East. Every one of our programs represents the best in *people-to-people* travel. Only Anniversary Tours *guarantees* that you will have at least one social visit for each week of your tour. You'll go to such places as child care centers, children's camps, workplaces, polyclinics, trade unions and more. You'll meet Soviet people, ask questions, give answers and exchange views. It's an experience you just can't get through any other travel source.

While there's still time to reserve, remember that our tours are filling up fast. So whether you're an old friend who's been traveling with us since we opened our doors in 1967... or someone who's always wanted to visit the USSR, but hasn't gotten around to it... come with us to the Soviet Union in 1986.

You'll make friends... maybe help make a little history... and perhaps melt the rest of the cold war ice!

We promise you the holiday of a lifetime. Write or call for our 1986 brochure today!

A FEW HIGHLIGHTS OF OUR 1986 TRAVEL PROGRAM

Celebrate the 100th Anniversary of May Day in Moscow! There's still time to sign up for this historic celebration. But hurry, the absolute deadline is March 24, 1986!

Attend the Friendship/Goodwill Games! Everyone traveling with us to Moscow during June 1986 will be able to attend these famous competitions at no extra cost!

Five Gala Festival Tours to the Soviet Union! Brand new for 1986! We've selected five of the very best cultural festivals that the Soviet Union is so famous for. You'll enjoy their finest musicians, dancers, theater groups, opera performers and more... from many Soviet republics. Fabulous!

SEND FOR OUR 1986 BROCHURE TODAY OR CALL

In NY State: (212) 245-7501

Toll-Free Out of State: (800) 223-1336

Anniversary Tours
250 W. 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10107

Please rush me your 1986 brochure of tours to the Soviet Union.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Daytime phone ( ) _____

Anniversary Tours
The pros in travel to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mond, VA 23203, before April 30. She should state that she intends to pursue legal action.)

Each of the three books on the Dalkon Shield presents the story adequately. I preferred Morton Mintz's account because its tone is more judicious and its discussion of the medical issues more thorough than the others. What is most obvious from all the versions is that our regulatory body, the F.D.A., does not have the power or the personnel to control unethical practices by drug companies adequately.

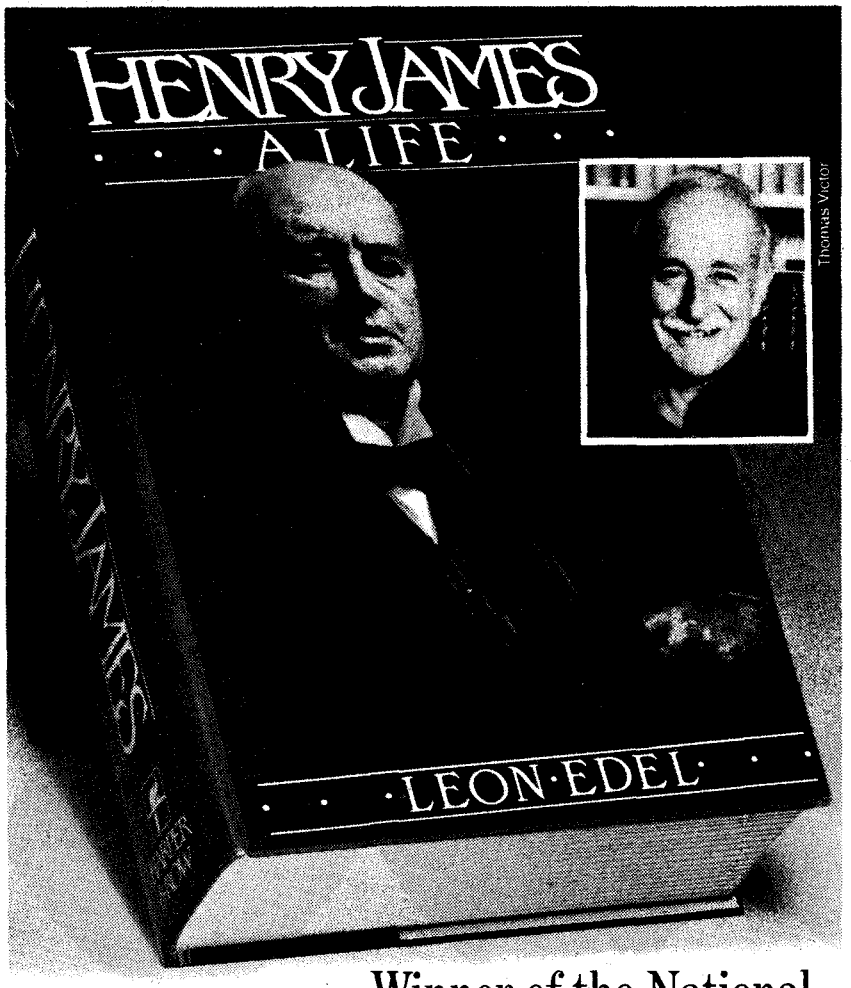
In retrospect, it seems to me that the handwriting about IUDs has always been on the wall. From the beginning the reports on their use were bad: the Dalkon Shield was the worst, but use of the others has also carried significant risk of injury—bleeding, pain, perforation, ectopic pregnancy, infection and infertility. Almost every issue of the prominent Ob/Gyn journals in the past ten to fifteen years has contained an article about IUD use and pelvic infection. In fact, a generation of infertility specialists got a large portion of their training attempting to restore fertility to women who had used IUDs.

Now that all the IUDs are off the market I am relieved. I can easily say no to patients who request the devices, instead of having them sign waivers of responsibility if they insist on them. In 1977 the F.D.A. produced a new set of warnings for doctors to distribute to patients before IUD insertions. I often wondered how anyone who read those booklets could then use the device. I certainly never would. But why couldn't I just say no to patients before? Perhaps, while the devices were on the market, I believed that if they were *so* bad the F.D.A. would step in. After reading the books about the Dalkon Shield I will never again make so foolish an assumption.

One crucial issue of health care emerges from all this: physician vs. patient autonomy. Does a doctor have the right, or responsibility, to refuse a procedure or treatment which she or he thinks is wrong even if it is approved by government regulatory agencies and is in general use? I have learned from the IUD saga that physicians should make autonomous decisions in such circumstances.

Of course, the argument is generally made that once the patient is given a full explanation of risks and benefits she can make her own decision. The doctor thus becomes the passive purveyor of medical technology. If there is an unfortunate outcome, the malpractice attorneys step in and claim that neither the drug company nor the doctor was negligent. That is how the free market economy of medicine works in our country. That is also the reason my patients have to pay me an additional $40,000 a year that I turn over to an insurance company for distribution among injured people and their lawyers. Wouldn't it be better to take steps to prevent such injuries? In the case of IUDs, the result of all the litigation is good—the devices are gone.

The more difficult questions remain: Why did so many women have to be injured before the devices were eliminated? And how can we avoid another such tragedy? In answer to the first question, let me ask another: If the IUD were a male method of contraception, would it have been on the market for almost fifteen years? Of course not. Male reproductive organs are not to be tampered with in such a dangerous fashion. In appraising contraceptive methods, the side effects that women suffer are routinely underestimated



Winner of the National Book Critics Circle Award in Biography

The biography that won the Pulitzer Prize, the National Book Award, and the Gold Medal of the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters—now in a revised and updated one-volume condensation.

"A masterly abridgment of the greatest literary biography of our century. Edel has not only cut; he has added—he has actually deepened his original work."
—*Louis Auchincloss*

Harper & Row

754 pages. Illustrated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and those that men suffer, overplayed. Witness the near hysteria about the presence of antisperm antibodies which develop after vasectomy, compared with the routine acceptance of the risks of general anesthesia and operative problems connected with female sterilization.

Avoiding such problems will continue to be difficult. But while we're waiting for the "ideal" contraceptive (presumably a female method), let's recognize that we have a very good method already on the market. It's safe and second only to the pill in effectiveness. It also provides significant protection against sexually transmitted diseases. Its drawback is that it's a male method. Isn't it about time to promote condoms and ask men to accept a greater share of the contraceptive burden? □

FILMS.

ANDREW KOPKIND

The Hitcher
F/X

Going my way? The figure of the hitchhiker keeps popping up in the American imagination in each generation to exploit a nightful of fears and a long day's desires. The hitcher (in the elision adopted for the film) may be an innocent in search of adventure or a monster in pursuit of prey; the form the archetype assumes is somehow related to the sensibility of the times in which it appears. In the 1930s and the 1960s the hitcher appeared as a *Wanderkind* or a hippie, a Quixote in blue jeans or an updated Tom Sawyer for the auto-industrial age. On the road of life—*nel cammin' di nostra vita*—the picaresque wanderer courted danger, tempted fate, skirted sex, found new worlds and avoided old traps. Writer Eric Red and director Robert Harmon (both in the Hollywood big league for the first time) find the monster type more appropriate to this day and age. Now the naïf is in the car, and that thumb beckoning from the soft shoulder is a fearful finger of fate.

The hitchhiking epic is essentially a folk myth rather than a literary artifice, and the best examples have been passed by word of mouth around seats of battered Bugs on transcontinental trips. Deep in the mythology is the image of

Winners of the 1985/86
NATIONAL BOOK CRITICS CIRCLE AWARDS

Fiction
Anne Tyler
THE ACCIDENTAL TOURIST
Alfred A. Knopf

General Nonfiction
J. Anthony Lukas
COMMON GROUND:
A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families
Alfred A. Knopf

Biography
Leon Edel
HENRY JAMES: A LIFE
Harper & Row

Criticism
William H. Gass
HABITATIONS OF THE WORD
Simon and Schuster

Poetry
Louise Glück
THE TRIUMPH OF ACHILLES
Ecco Press

The NBCC Citation for Excellence in Reviewing
Sven Birkerts

The NBCC is a non-profit organization of 500 professional critics and book review editors founded in 1974 to enhance standards of criticism and encourage appreciation of quality literature. This is the 11th anniversary of the annual NBCC awards.

MOVING?
ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE
Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.
New address:
Name
Street
City
State Zip
Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.
Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

AUDIO-FORUM® offers the best in self-instructional foreign language courses using audio cassettes — featuring those used to train U.S. State Dept. personnel in Spanish, French, German, Portuguese, Japanese, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Chinese, Italian, and more. Learn a foreign language on your own! Free Catalog
Call (203) 453-9794, or fill out and send this ad to —
Audio-Forum
Room 80, On-the-Green
Guilford, CT 06437
Name
Address Apt. #
City
State/Zip
I am particularly interested in (check choice): ☐ Spanish ☐ French ☐ Polish ☐ Greek ☐ Russian ☐ Vietnamese ☐ Bulgarian ☐ Turkish ☐ German ☐ Other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

THE CIRCLE OF ARAB-JEWISH UNDERSTANDING

A group of Arabs and Jews dedicated to peace in the Middle East.

Our monthly meetings explore culture, history and current issues through lectures and discussions.

If interested write: The Circle Inc., Box 20660, New York, NY 10025.

BOWL A STRIKE FOR NICARAGUA

SATURDAY APRIL 5, 1 TO 5

Bowlmor Lanes
110 University Place, New York City

Teams Organizing. Call (212) 475-7159.

Raise funds, raise hell, raise the construction brigade BOWLNICA.

AMERICAN ATHEISTS
16TH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION

Speakers include: Madalyn Murray O'Hair, John M. Allegro and Bill Baird

FRIDAY TO SUNDAY, APRIL 18 TO 20

Somerset Hilton, Somerset, New Jersey

Pre-registration $50, including luncheon.

For information write: American Atheist Convention, Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.

WHAT'S HAPPENING?
Films on Contemporary Social and Political Issues.

Little People (1984)
An Examination of the World of Dwarfs

THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 3 AND 6:30 PM

The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street, New York City

Museum admission is on a pay-what-you-wish basis after 5pm on Thursday.

CUNY Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Latin America

AN EDUCATIONAL FORUM
ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Speakers: Kathleen Mair of Witness for Peace and journalists Bob Ostertag, Debra Mutnick and Joel Lefkowitz.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26,
6 PM RECEPTION, 7 PM PROGRAM

CUNY Graduate Center
33 W. 42nd Street, Downstairs Auditorium
New York City

$5 donation, $3 low income.

Join us in celebrating
The 50th Anniversary
Of the founding of the
AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

Meet old friends, reminisce about the old times, sing the old songs.

SUNDAY, MAY 4, 12 to 4 PM

Hot luncheon.

John Jay College
445 W. 59th Street, New York City

Make your reservation now.

Tickets $25 per person.

Send check/money order to: A.S.U. Reunion, Box 431, Leonia, NJ 07605.

the "phantom hitchhiker," a menacing specter who appears mysteriously from the mists, disappears just as strangely, and reappears just when you think he's gone for good. *The Hitcher*'s hitcher (Rutger Hauer) is just such a phantasm in the rear-view mirror of a driveaway Seville piloted by teen-throb C. Thomas Howell as Jim Halsey. Jim is racing in the rain on a two-lane blacktop somewhere in the Texas desert between Chicago and California (don't bother to look at a map), perhaps in full flight from one of Howell's recent pubescent features (*Secret Admirer*, *Red Dawn*). Pricked by pity and impelled by compassion, two utterly inappropriate emotions in the Southwest today, he offers the hitcher a lift. "My mother told me never to do this," he smiles coyly as the man enters the car. Not since the Commendatore rose through the old trap door has a more terrifying symbol of death been welcomed in a Seville.

It takes about two seconds for Jim to realize that the hitcher means to dismember him, or worse, but there's no giving of the ghost. Time after time, the driver thinks he's free, but the horror is hardly over. The philosophical McGuffin here is that Death struggles with Life over principles, not just bodies. The hitcher wants the driver to kill him and thus accept the death principle; Jim tries to reaffirm the life instinct by nonviolent escape. It goes without saying that this is no contest. A critic once said that when Dimitri Mitropoulos played Beethoven, Beethoven lost. As in the concert hall, so on the road: life against death by its nature plays a losing game.

But flee, philosophy! This is a movie full of spatter and suspense, both provided in excess and applied with much mischievous relish. The genre requires a measure of adolescent enthusiasm for its appreciation, rather like a heavy metal song cycle, as it moves from murder to car crash to explosion at a jaunty pace. Not quite camp, too often disgusting, it's always real scary at the gastrointestinal level.

If *The Hitcher* is a B movie with pretentions, *F/X* is a B movie that is comfortable and almost complacent in its category. Like Richard Rush's more ambitious *The Stunt Man*, Robert Mandel's movie treats the audience to a tour of movie-making behind the camera, where the special effects department of the title runs riot with the contradictions of seeming and being. Included are useful lessons in splatter synthesis, mask-making, remote-control mayhem and other exotic tricks of the trade. Because the movie itself is rather amateurishly made, devices not explicitly presented may also be easily discerned: the manufacture of artificial rain, the method of filming car chases in slow motion and speeding them up for the print, the replacement of actors with doubles in long shots. Still and all, the stunts are ingenious enough and the discrepancies so minor that *F/X* makes a pleasant alternative to whatever Oscar contenders are featured in the neighborhood octoplex.

The B-ness of *F/X* is underlined by the fact that its players are unknowns, hardly-knowns or never-will-be-knowns. They seem to accept their assignment cheerfully, which is to work through a police-action plot involving the use of special effects to stage the fake assassination of a mobster who is sequestered in the F.B.I.'s witness protection program—one of those expensive government perks that will surely survive every round of Gramm-Rudman cuts. There's no twist you don't see coming at you miles before it hits, but the fun is in the execution rather than the mystery. And the most fun of all is finding the gaps in the plot. You're not sure why the principals end up on a mountaintop in Switzerland? Probably, the crew has left so many holes in the movie they've come for a last load of Emmenthaler. □

Join the Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*, and invitations to many *Nation*-sponsored events.

For further information write or call Nancy Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENT DESIRED

ROME APARTMENT, all services for Manhattan woman month of August. Prefer Piazza Fume. $500 limit. Nation Box 55.

NEW IN TOWN. Quiet, responsible Nation interns seek moderately priced share or sublet. Temporary housing O.K. Send any information to The Nation, Box EJS, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, or contact Emily Sack (212) 242-8400.

APARTMENT CRISIS!

The Nation's associate publisher most recent casualty

My home in Greenwich Village has been taken over by new owner. Would appreciate any leads for an apartment—studio or single—preferably in the Village but would consider anything on the East Coast. Call David Parker at The Nation, (212) 242-8400.

BOOKS

ROAD TO RUIN, The Path of the United States' Foreign Policy, 1945-1984, by Frank Snowsell, $9, paperback, 1990 Byrns Road, Kelowna, BC V1W 2G4 Canada.

THE REGRESSIVE PERIOD we are living in is no wave of the future.

If you are disillusioned with all the "isms"; if you are looking for an entirely new, practical, future-oriented, social-individual philosophy; then read **LIBERATION MANIFESTO.**

There is nothing like it in scope, level, point of view (yours, as an individual) and integration.

LIBERATION MANIFESTO by E.K. Liberatore Paperbound, 602 pages including index. $11.50 postpaid Eagle Books, Box 1307, Paramus, NJ 07653.

Money refunded if not satisfied, or if not as claimed above. Big problems require big solutions—from strangers.

ATTENTION DEMOCRATS! Hilarious true story of Republican patronage, $4.65. The Pork Barrel Express, Box 7906, Louisville, KY 40207.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

EDUCATION

THIS YEAR 81 PERCENT of Costa Ricans voted in lively, honest elections. Experience this exceptional democracy and improve your Spanish ($1.50 per hour instruction). Write: Centro Cultural, Apartado 1489, San Jose, Costa Rica.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living, and community work. Monthly entry dates.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 853 Broadway, Room 1105, New York, NY 10003. (212) 777-1197.

Speak French like a diplomat!

Comprehensive, self-instructional audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning; 42 languages in all. Free catalog. Write:

audio-forum® Room 228, 96 Broad St. Guilford, CT 06437

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. Apply now for 1986 sessions. Call or write: NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in Book 4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

CHESS-GAMBIT—Your board and pieces. 27 cards and instruction sheet. Lets you play your own game but adds an element of chance. One card can shift the balance of power. Send $9.95 check or money order to: Gambetto, Ltd., Box 5935, Chicago, IL 60680. Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery. Illinois residents add 8 percent sales tax.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
718-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

LATIN AMERICAN poetry, politics and music cassettes. Professional studio recordings. Write for a complete list. David Barsamian, KRZA, 528 9th, Alamosa, CO 81101.

MISCELLANEOUS

MEN! DELAY ORGASM as long as you want. Premature ejaculation needn't ruin your relationship. Unique guide summarizes foolproof method. $6.95. Medisearch, Box 68, Westport, CT 06881.

FUNNY life membership in worldwide hemorrhoid club. 5 cards $1, give to friends, Dimeco Gags, 399 Marlboro Street, Keene, NH 03431.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with The Nation? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

Euthanasia
Let Me Die Before I Wake
by Derek Humphry
Practical advice to the dying about accelerating the end.
In bookstores/$10.
$6 plus $1.50 shipping when ordered from
The Hemlock Society
POB 66218 L.A.CA 90066

PERSONALS

PREVENT APRIL from being the cruelest month. Run a personal ad. Special discount on personals postmarked by March 31: pay for an ad to run twice and the third run is free.

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS
A Nation box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $5 charge.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles, 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039 or call (215) 358-5049.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

DEDICATED MUSIC LOVER and political activist seeks intelligent, sensitive white male, 65 to 75. Box 9714, Berkeley, CA 94709.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

U.I.W. Local 424 seeks individual for union staff to organize and provide service for workers employed in a variety of industries in and around the New York metropolitan and Long Island area. Bilingual fluency is a plus. Excellent benefits. Salary based on skills and experience. Apply ASAP. (516) 467-3500.

RESEARCH ANALYST position available immediately in the research department of Service Employees International Union, Washington, D.C. Responsible for research support for S.E.I.U.'s private sector membership, with emphasis on labor relations, contract analysis and corporate financial analysis. B.A. or equivalent in economics or a related field is required, as well as labor or community action research experience and excellent writing skills. Union or community organizing experience preferred. Starting salary in the mid-20s. Applicants should send a resume and analytic writing sample to: Linda Gallick, Personnel Director, Service Employees International Union, 1313 L Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20005.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

DIRECTOR of environmental organization doing research and public education on radioactive waste issues. Must have management, budget-setting and fund-raising experience, editing/writing skills and be able to work cooperatively with volunteers and dedicated staff. The position, in the New York City area, is available immediately. For job announcement, write Laura Haight, Sierra Club Radioactive Waste Campaign, 625 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. EOE.

Engineers, Technicians, Businesspeople, Computer Professionals, Mechanics, etc.,
NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU!
Volunteers are urgently needed for 2-week training and consulting positions in various governmental and non-governmental agencies. Trips leave every month. Please contact:
tecNICA, Dept. N, 2727 College Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94705 415-654-7768

THE NATION needs a part-time copy editor (three days a week) to work with the literary department. Applications in writing, please, to Elizabeth Pochoda and Maria Margaronis, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

THE NATION seeks an assistant bookkeeper through the G/L; office supervision, heavy volume of work, some purchasing. Benefits. Call Ann Epstein at (212) 242-8400.

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings, $3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105, 1520 16th Street N.W., Washington DC 20036.

GOVERNMENT JOBS $16,040-$59230 per year. Now hiring. Call (805) 687-6000 ext. R-3596 for current federal list.

PUBLICATIONS

SOVIET-AMERICAN REVIEW, semi-monthly socialist political/economic survey of the Soviet Union. Editor: Alexander Amerisov, Soviet socialist exile. Two-month trial offer (4 issues) $10. Mention The Nation. Send to 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

SOCIALIST STANDARD. Official journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and World Socialist Party–Ireland: $8.50/12 issues. WORLD SOCIALIST–International Journal of the World Socialist Movement: $2.50/twice yearly. World Socialist Party–U.S., Box 405, Boston, MA 02272.

OFF OUR BACKS. Read the radical feminist "newspaper of record for the women's movement." National and international news about women, reviews, commentaries. $11 a year/11 issues. Special trial offer: 3 issues, $3. Write OOB, Dept. N, #212, 1841 Columbia Road, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

HELLBENT ON INSANITY. The best college humor of the 1970s and 1980s. 240 pages of parody and politics. Large trade paperback. Just $9.95 plus $2 postage: Hellbent on Insanity, Box 4586, Rockefeller Center, New York, NY 10185.

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TRANSCRIPT AND TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at Town Hall on October 20, 1983, can be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Make checks/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. If you'd like more information, call (212) 242-8400.

"Requiem for the American Empire"
Copies of Gore Vidal's acclaimed article, from the January 11 Nation, are now available. The cost is $1.50 per copy and $1 each for orders of 10 or more. Make checks payable to The Nation. Price includes postage. Send orders to: The Nation, "Requiem," 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. New York residents add appropriate sales tax.

PUBLICATIONS

COPIES OF THE HISTORIC 120th anniversary issue of The Nation are available from the New York office. The cost is $4 each, $2.50 each for 10 or more. Send order to: The Nation, 120th Anniversary Issue, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call (805) 687-6000, ext GH-3596 for information.

RELIGION

136 + BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS, 49 Biblical Absurdities, More! $3. Crusade Publications, Box 200-U, Redmond, WA 98052.

JESUS FICTIONAL—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4. Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98008.

SERVICES

CARPENTER NEEDED to build closet and other assorted work. Hope to find honest person who charges a reasonable rate. (212) 677-3083.

SUMMER CAMP

CAMP HURLEY is a summer camp in upstate New York which involves children 6 to 13 and teens 14 to 17 of diverse racial, ethnic and economic backgrounds in learning to struggle for democratic values. Request brochure from United Community Centers, 833 Van Siclen Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11207, (718) 649-7979.

CAMP KINDERLAND. Progressive, secular Jewish, humanist. Celebrate black, Hispanic, other ethnic cultures; explore labor, women's, peace and freedom movements. Full recreation program, noncompetitive, loving community, children 7 to 16. 1 Union Square West, New York, NY 10003. (212) 255-6283.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: $1 per word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $45 per column inch.

Deadline: Wednesday, 17 days prior to Saturday issue date.

Discounts: with 3 runs, 1 free; with 7 runs, 3 free.

To: THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for ____ weeks, plus ____ weeks free.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment must accompany order. **Payment in U.S. currency.**

GOING SOMEWHERE?

LOOKING FOR A LONDON FLAT FOR THE SUMMER?

RENTING YOUR COTTAGE ON THE COAST?

HOPING TO EXCHANGE YOUR MANHATTAN APARTMENT FOR A MANHATTAN BEACH HOUSE?

ADVERTISE IN THE NATION CLASSIFIEDS.

We've been told over and over how Nation classifieds locate responsible tenants and beautiful summer rentals.

You'll reach 65,000 subscribers, over 16,000 of whom are academics with the summer to travel.

The Nation offers listings under **Exchange** or **Summer Rentals** headings.

To place an ad use the classified coupon. Rates $1 a word, 15-word minimum.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMER RENTALS

BEAUTIFUL MATINICUS ISLAND. Large, completely furnished house, weekly rental. May through July 31. Nation Box 52.

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. People-to-people, one-week trip delegations from Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, or join us in Mexico City. Trips depart May, June, July and August. Information: Alice McGrath, Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

UNUSUAL CRUISES: freighters, expeditions, minicruises, yachts, group discount trips. TravLtips, Box 188U7, Flushing, NY 11358.

CLIP & SAVE

BED & BREAKFAST (& BOOKS)

A different way of experiencing New York...
$55-60 double, $45-50 single with private bath
Res: Mr. Lewis, 35 W. 92nd Street,
New York, NY 10025. Tel: (212) 865-8740

CRUISE ENGLISH CANALS with left-historian/skipper. $445 weekly, inclusive. Box 2083, Springfield, MA 01101-N. Telephone (413) 736-5937.

T-SHIRTS

THE BILL OF RIGHTS T-SHIRT SALE!

First Ten Amendments to the Constitution screened on a Quality T-Shirt
WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE
CORONA GRAPHICS
395 RIVER ROAD
BOX 1084
E. LIVERPOOL, OHIO 43920

SPECIAL
2 For $13.95 PPD!
$9.95 Each PPD.
Red/White/Lt. Blue/Yellow
S/M/L/XL
Visa & MC

RADICAL RAGS—The Nation T-shirt. Comfortable (100% cotton), sleek (white lettering on red or black T-shirt) and inexpensive ($8.95 each, includes UPS delivery). S,M,L,XL. Send order to The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10011. New York State residents add appropriate sales tax.

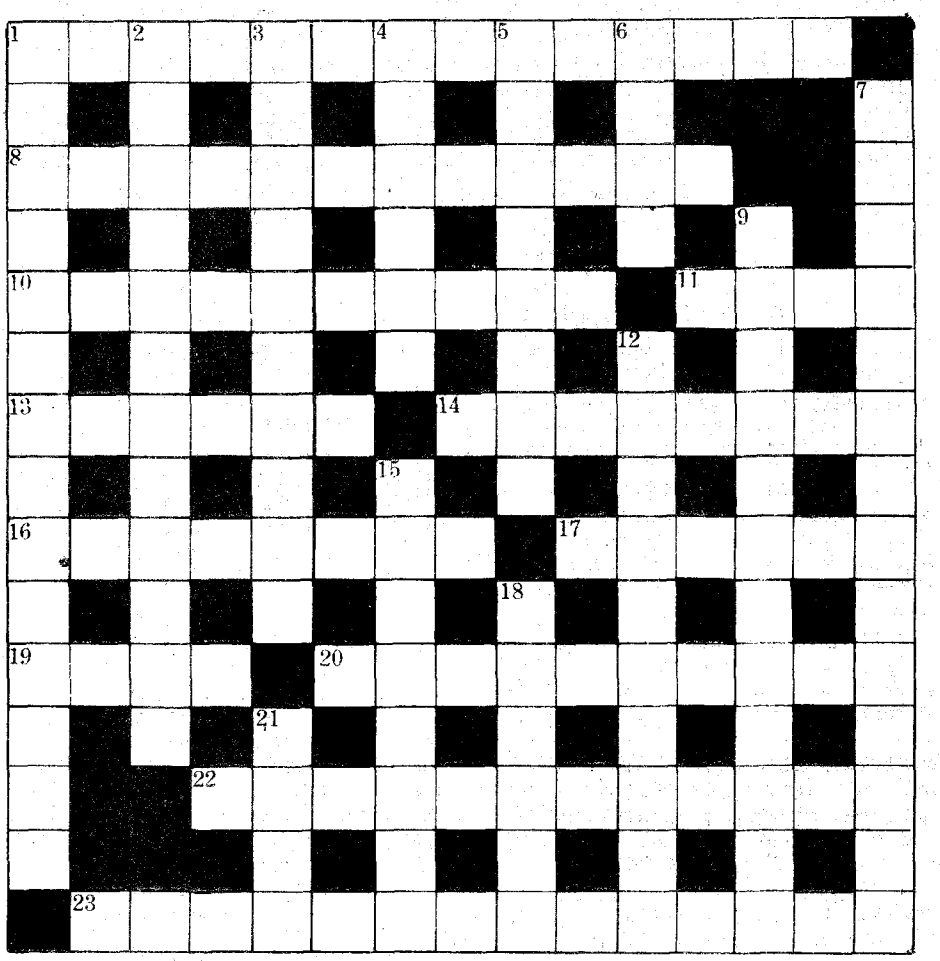
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2095

C	A	R	T	E	B	L	A	N	C	H	E			
	R		E		L		R		A		S		P	
S	T	A	M	P	A	L	B	U	M		K	O	H	L
	F		P		K		U		P		I		A	
F	O	O	T	R	E	S	T		B	I	M	I	N	I
	R		E				U		E		O		T	
	A	I	D	E	S		S	A	L	E	S	T	A	X
	R				P				L				S	
S	T	U	R	G	E	O	N		S	T	O	R	M	
	S		A		C		O				R		A	
A	S	S	I	S	T		W	A	R	N	I	N	G	S
	A		M		A		H		E		G		O	
S	K	Y	E		C	H	E	V	A	L	I	E	R	S
	E		N		L		R		D		N		I	
			T	H	E	S	E	V	E	N	S	E	A	S

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA UNION LABEL NEW YORK X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 2096

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Close baseball games might be. (Possibly best dealt out after what the oboe is supposed to give. (7,7)
8 Being there, is it reasonable to expect young girls to be — — —, after a ——? (2,10)
10 Near a point in Holland, where those being blamed might want to get. (3,3,4)
11 Gee! With this imaginary being it would be in orbit, perhaps! (4)
13 You won't use plain language if you do! (The NCO deliberately makes it obvious!) (6)
14 A holdup around feminine wear requires a specialist in a certain old philosophy. (8)
16 A painful expression when the children's Xmas present, perhaps, is around—being rather drooped. (8)
17 Notice on the TV studio's running time schedule? (Stick with it!) (6)
19 You can bet on this game's going a long way, but there's nothing to it! (4)
20 Evidently the slate's wiped clean with it! (Have a stab, Laura—it's only a little muddled!) (6,4)
22 You might find yourself out of khaki, if they're doing it. (12)
23 Is this what the President wants to be, when he keeps the Army staff on a short leash? (Any team might have one! (7,7)

DOWN

1 Pow! It might be right on their backs! (9,2,3)
2 One might be judged to be a fast type here. (7,5)
3 Tar is sometimes called by this. (3,3,4)
4 Tender, perhaps, but somewhat dull around Holyhead. (6)
5 Down, as the French say, around the star of Texas you might find seafood. (8)
6 Make a quick turn in 4, perhaps, but the harness and such might also have a point. (4)
7 Rover subsequently goes in them with a display of madness, but one wouldn't share the implication. (3,2,3,6)
9 Suggests that one is undoing the Emancipation Proclamation, or at least thinking of it. (12)
12 One might consider fixing this auto a grind, though it usually happens every June. (10)
15 Five feet on each side with such? (One might find such a pace odd!) (8)
18 Not a painting school founded by Rubik, however. (6)
21 Some humorist said one man's this is another man's Persian! (4)

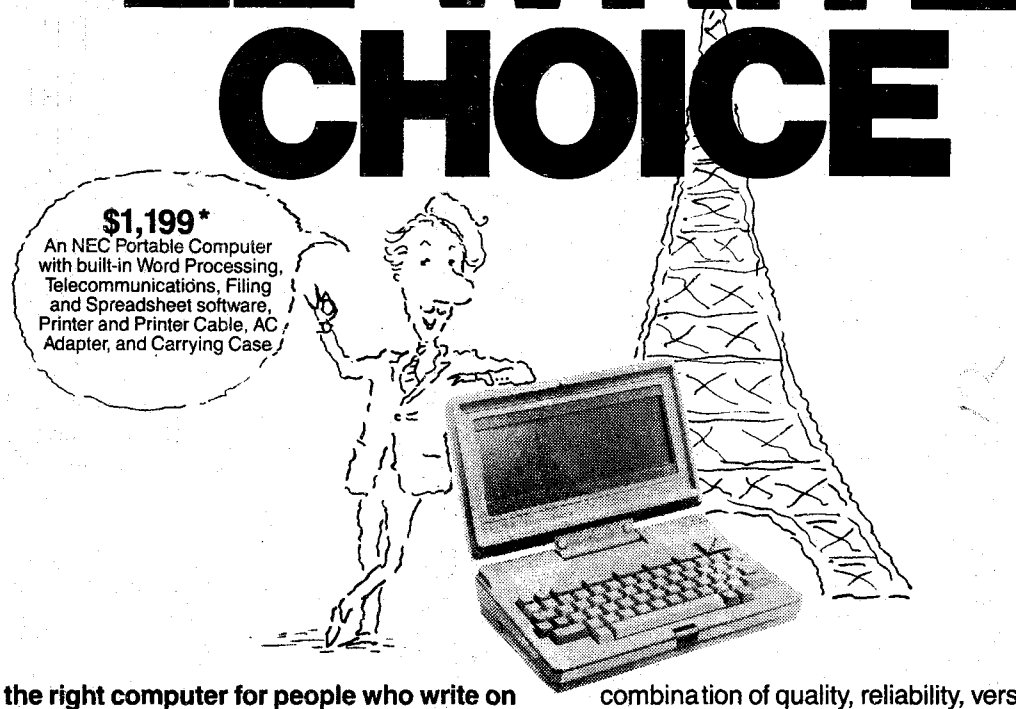
PUZZLED?

No more cross words. Find out why "little skipper" is a "truant." Send for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's Ground Rules to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

C&C Computers and Communications

LE WRITE CHOICE


$1,199*
An NEC Portable Computer with built-in Word Processing, Telecommunications, Filing and Spreadsheet software, Printer and Printer Cable, AC Adapter, and Carrying Case

It's the right computer for people who write on the go. Available now in an attractive package deal—plus excitement that includes free gifts and a chance to win a trip for two to Paris!

Right now, you can get a powerful NEC battery-operated portable computer with a large, easy-to-read LCD screen. With an AC adapter (for when you want to stay put). With a separate printer (which you don't have to carry everywhere). And even a free carrying case from NEC (which you can send for).

*All for only $1,199.**

It's The Portable Office Writer's Package, from NEC. Switch it on and built-in word processing software is at your fingertips instantly, anywhere. Plug it into a phone line to transmit what you've written to most any other computer, using the built-in modem and telecommunications software. Use other built-in software too—to keep track of deadlines, appointments, facts, budgets, and expenses.

Whether it's your first computer or your second—for your desk or your briefcase—it's the combination of quality, reliability, versatility and price that spells success.

Hurry for free gifts—and a chance to go to Paris!

Just for seeing the system demonstrated, you'll get two free gifts, valued together at $50. These gifts are available only at participating dealers, and the supply is limited. So hurry!

Use an official entry form from a participating dealer* to enter our sweepstakes, and you could win an expenses paid trip for two to Paris. Or one of six NEC videocassette recorders. Or one of 100 Spell-To-Go software cartridges.

No purchase is necessary to win. So visit one of the dealers listed today. And you could be visiting Paris soon!

For more information dial **1-800-447-4700**
For technical support dial **1-800-NEC-SOFT**

NEC HOME ELECTRONICS (U.S.A.) Inc.
Personal Computer Division
1401 Estes Avenue
Elk Grove Village, IL 60007

NEC

Available now at these dealers!

Manhattan

Washington Computer Services
155 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10013
(212) 741-2320

Executive Computers, Inc.
56 Beaver Street, Suite 307
New York, NY 10004
(212) 635-9800

Corporate Micros, Inc.
333 W. 52nd Street, Suite 1204
New York, NY 10019
(212) 315-2853

47th Street Photo
(Two Locations)
116 Nassau Street
New York, NY 10038
(212) 608-6934

67 W. 47th Street
New York, NY 10036
(212) 398-1410

Wolff Computers
11 W. 60th Street
New York, NY 10023
(212) 307-6545

Computerland
1 Seaport Park
New York, NY 10038
(212) 608-2250

369 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10016
(212) 213-1000

Macy's Department Store
151 W. 34th Street,
5th Floor
Herald Square
New York, NY 10001
(212) 695-9483

Long Island

Long Island Computer Products, Inc.
175 Union Boulevard
West Islip, NY 11795
(516) 669-6262

Datago
265 Broadway
Hicksville, NY 11801
(516) 933-1895

1050 Franklin Avenue
Garden City, NY 11530
(516) 248-5075

New Jersey

Bamberger's
(Three Locations)
Menlo Park Shopping Center
Menlo Park, NJ 08837
(201) 549-0414

Garden State Plaza
Paramus, NJ 07652
(201) 843-0713

South Orange Ave. at Walnut St.
Livingston, NJ 07039
(201) 994-0312

*Manufacturer's suggested retail price

*For an official entry form write to NEC Writer's Sweepstakes, P.O. Box 7501, Wheeling IL 60090. Participating dealers as of 2/12/86

ETSU LIBRARY
The Sherrod Library
East Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee 37614
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED